310.5
003
CUK-H00547-102-GS A61

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

An Illustrated Monthly

Established 1844

102

THIRD SERIES

Volume XLIV

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY
CENTRAL LIBRARY.

JULY—SEPTEMBER

1932

CALCUTTA U...
Acc. No...
Book No.....

PUBLISHED BY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

CRCU 183

First Series	...	...	*1844*
New Series	...	...	*1913*
Third Series (Monthly)		..	*1921*

GS 1461

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

Volume XLIV ; Numbers 1—3

JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1932

CONTENTS

Page.

The New Logic and its Use in Philosophy—R. Das, M.A., Ph.D. 1
Local Boards in the Madras Presidency—M. Venkatarangaiya 13
Autumn Sunset (*Poem*)—Louise A. Nelson, M.A. ... 32
Some Problems in Psycho-Analysis—Dr. Suhritchandra Mitra, M.A., D.Phil. 33
Growth of Public Debt—Dr. P. R. Dutta, M.A., D.Sc. ... 45
Empire Free Trade—S. R. Bose, M.A. 57
Among the Season's Good Books—Leland J. Berry, M.A. 74
American Educators as Promoters of World Peace—Dr. Taraknath Das, M.A., Ph.D. 77
Spiritualism—P. Changkakati, M.A. 83
Prayer—(*Poem*)—V. H. Pandit 88
The Personality of a Famous Bengali—Mohinimohan Bhattacherjee, M.A. 89
Songs of the Sea—Leland J. Berry, M.A. 98
The 'Scraps of Paper' and the Problem of the States—Haricharan Mukherji 100

Reviews :

Ancient Indian Fasts and Feasts—P. R. S. ... 107
Personal Problems of Conduct and Religion—S. K. D. ... 107

Ourselves :

Srijukta Swarnakumari Devi 113
Moksbada Sundari Gold Medal 1933 and Nalinisundari Gold Medal 1933 113
Matriculation Examination 1932 114
L. T. Examination 1932 114
B. T. Examination 1932 115
Preliminary Scientific M. B. Examination, April, 1932 ... 115
First M. B. Examination, April, 1932 115

Page.

Second M. B. Examination, April, 1932 115
Third M. B. Examination, April, 1932 115
Final M. B. Examination, April, 1932 116
Dvivedi Commemoration Volume 116

India's Duty at Ottawa—Dr. B. Ramchandra Rau Ph.D. 119
A General Account of the Religious and Philosophical Atmosphere around Mahavira and Buddha—Mr. Amulya Chandra Sen, M.A., B.L. 145
National and Local Finance—B. K. Sarkar. 157
Economic Depression in Assam—Dines Chandra Dutt ... 191
Night on the Hooghly (*Poem*)—R. J. N. Maher ... 206
Pythagoras the Vegetarian—Charlotte Krause ... 207
On a Fond Look (*Poem*)—Gabi 216
The Problem before the Indian (Native) State—Akshoy Kumar Ghosal 217
The God (*Poem*)—V. H. Pandit 232
Suggestion in waking life—Kshitish Chandra Bagchi ... 233

REVIEWS :
Text, Type and Style—Priyaranjan Sen 237
Satanari—Sailendra Nath Mitra 237

OURSELVES :
Result of the B.Com. Examination, 1932 239
Result of the B.A. Examination, 1932 239
Result of the B.Sc. Examination, 1932 240

Academic Reception to Rabindranath—Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Kt., OB.E., F.R.C S.I., D.P.H., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University 241
Rabindranath's Reply 247
Special Convocation Address—Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Kt., O.BE., F.R.C.S.I., D.P.H., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University 251
Sleep and Consciousness—Dr. Rasbihary Das, M.A., Ph.D. 253
The Function of the College in the Life of the City—Arthur Newman 261
Twilight (*Poem*)—William Allen Ward 266
Dawn (*Poem*)—William Allen Ward 266
The Organisation of Soviet Power—S. C. Sarkar, M.A. ... 267
The Early Phase of Mir Quassim's Career—Nandalal Chatterji, M.A. 299
The Outlook of Present-day Psychology—Jitendrakumar Chakravarty, M.A. 311

Page.

Evolution of Civil Service in the Modern State—Akshoy Kumar Ghoshal, M.A. 323

Jaina-Buddhist Influence in the Gita—Amulyachandra Sen, M.A., B.L. 337

Foreign Influence on the Poetry of Rabindranath—Binayak Sanyal, M.A. 343

REVIEWS :

The Development of Religious Toleration in England from the beginning of the English Reformation to the Death of Queen Elizabeth—J.G.B. 369

The Indian Currency and Exchange—B. Ramchandra Rau ... 373

Disarmament—B. Ramchandra Rau 374

OURSELVES :

Our Vice-Chancellor 377

Bageswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts 377

Kamala Lecturer for 1930 377

The Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghose Lecturer in Comparative Religion for 1933 378

Mouat Medal 378

Dates for the University Examinations 378

List of Contributors and their articles.

Bagchi, Kshitish Chandra

Suggestion in Waking Life 233

Berry, Leland J., M.A.

Among the Season's Good Books 74

Songs of the Sea (*Poem*) 98

Bhattacharjee Mohinimohan, M.A.

The Personality of a Famous Bengali 89

Bose, S. R., M.A.

Empire Free Trade 57

Chakrabarty, Jitendra Kumar, M.A.

The Outlook of Present-day Psychology ... 311

Changkakati, P., M.A.

Spiritualism 83

Chatterjee, Nandalal, M.A.

The Early Phase of Mir Quasim's Career ... 299

Das Rashbehari, M.A., Ph.D.

The New Logic and its use in Philosophy ... 1

Sleep and Consciousness 253

Das, Taraknath, M.A., Ph.D.

American Education as Promoters of World Peace ... 77

Page.

Dutt, Dines Chandra
Economic Depression in Assam 191

Dutta, P.R., M.A., D.Sc.
Growth of Public Debt 45

Gabi
On a Fond Look (*Poem*) 216

Ghosal, Akshoy Kumar
The Problem before the Indian (Native) State ... 217
Evolution of Civil Service in the Modern State ... 323

Krause, Charlotte
Pythagoras the Vegetarian... 207

Maher, R. J. N.
Night on the Hughly (*Poem*) 206

Mitra, Suhritchandra, M.A., D. Phil.
Some Problems in Psycho-Analysis 33

Mukherjee, Haricharan.
The Scraps of Paper and the Problem of the States 100

Nelson, Louise, A., M.A.
Autumn Sunset (*Poem*) 32

Newman, Arthur
The Function of the College in the Life of the City ... 261

Pandit, V. H.
Prayer (*Poem*) 88
The God (*Poem*) 232

Rau, B. Ramchandra, M.A., Ph.D.
India's Duty at Ottawa 119

Sanyal, Binayak, M.A.
Foreign Influence on the Poetry of Rabindranath ... 343

Sarkar, B. K., M.A.
National and Local Finance 157

Sarkar, S. C.
The Organisation of Soviet Power 267

Sen, Amulyachandra, M.A., B. L.
A General Account of the Religious and Philosophical Atmosphere around Mahavira and Buddha ... 145
Jaina-Buddhist Influence in the Gita 337

Suhrawardy, Sir Hassan, Kt., O.B.E., F.R.C.S.I., D.P.H.
Academic Reception to Rabindranath 241
Special Convocation Address... 251

Tagore, Sir Rabindranath
A Reply (Academic Reception) 247

Venkatarangaiya, M.
Local Boards in the Madras Presidency 13

Page.

Ward, William Allen
Twilight (*Poem*) 266
Dawn (*Poem*) 266

Index of articles.

Assam, Economic Depression in 191
College in the Life of the City, The Function of the 261
Civil Service in the Modern State, Evolution of ... 323
Dawn (*Poem*) 266
Debt, Growth of Public 45
Famous Bengali, The Personality of a 89
Finance, National and Local 157
Gita, Jaina-Buddhist Influence in the 337
God (*Poem*) 232
Good Books, Among the Season's 74
Hughly, Night on the (*Poem*) 206
Logic and its use in Philosophy, The New ... 1
Look, One Fond (*Poem*) 215
Madras Presidency, Local Boards 13
Mir Quasim's Career, The Early Phase of ... 299
Ottawa, India's Duty at 119
Poetry of Rabindranath, Foreign Influence on the ... 343
Prayer (*Poem*) 38
Psychology, The Out-Look of the Present Day ... 311
Psycho-Analysis, Some Problems in 33
Pythagoras, the Vegetarian 207
Reception to Rabindranath, Academic 241
Religious and Philosophical Atmosphere around Mahavira and Buddha, A General Account of ... 145
Sleep and Consciousness 253
Songs of the Sea (*Poem*) 98
Soviet Power, The Organisation of 267
Spiritualism 83
State, The Problem before the Indian (Native) ... 217
States, The Scraps of Paper and the Problem of the... 100
Sunset, Autumn 32
Trade, Empire Free 57
Twilight (*Poem*) 266
Waking Life, Suggestion in 233
World's Peace, American Education as Promoters of 77

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JULY, 1932

THE NEW LOGIC AND ITS USE IN PHILOSOPHY[1]

The new logic was born in the last decade of the last century. Some preliminary work was already done by De Morgan and Boole; but the first comprehensive attempts to build up the new logic were made by Frege, Peano and Schroeder. Russell and Whitehead made use of the works of these writers and constructed their great '*Principia Mathematica.*' This is the standard work of new logic and all subsequent work is based upon it and attempts either to modify it or to complete it in certain respects.

This logic came into being out of the critical attempts of mathematicians to supply a sure basis to their science. Mathematics had made great progress since the days of Leibniz and Newton. Great superstructures were raised but their foundations were not closely examined. So for about a hundred years serious attempts were made to clarify the foundational ideas of mathematics and mathematicians succeeded in defining strictly such important concepts as those of limit, differential quotient, complex number, etc. They had long been using these concepts with great success; but their success was due to their mathematical instinct and not to any logical clarity of these concepts.

When people attempted to supply a secure basis to mathematics, they did not rest content merely with showing that the

[1] This article is based on a paper of Rudolf Carnap which he published in the first issue of *Erkenntnis* under the title of "*Die alteund die neue Logik.*"

different concepts of analysis could be derived from the concepts of number as the fundamental concepts of mathematics. Their attempts analyse logically the concepts of number, and thus, to furnish a logical basis to arithmetic, required for their success a system of logic which, in its scope and acuteness, would be sufficient to meet these demands. Thus the efforts of mathematicians gave a strong impetus to the development of the new logic. The need for building anew the science of logic was acutely felt when certain contradictions (antinomies), first noticed in the field of mathematics, were found to be of a general logical nature. It was found that they could be overcome only by a fundamental transformation of logic itself.

The Symbolic Method.

The first thing that strikes a man when he looks through a work on new logic is the use of symbolic formulæ which look like those of mathematics. This symbolism of logic was first constructed after the pattern of mathematics but has been later on developed in a form most suited to its particular needs.

In mathematics the advantage of symbolic method over the clumsy way of stating every thing in words is quite evident. Instead of saying 'if a number is multiplied by another, the result is the same as when the second is multiplied by the first, we can more neatly and clearly express the same fact by saying 'for any numbers x, y, it is true that $x.\ y=y.\ x$.'

Through the use of symbolism in logic, we can secure a strictness in the chain of reasoning which is not otherwise attainable. This method prevents the surreptitious introduction of any unwarranted presupposition in our reasoning. In verbal deductions we cannot be quite sure that no such presupposition has been allowed to creep in without our notice. It is now becoming clearer everyday that theory of knowledge, which is at bottom nothing but applied logic, can as little dispense with logistic as physics mathematics.

The Logic of Relations.

The new logic is distinguished from the old, not only by its symbolic character, but also by the wider scope of its subject-matter. The most important new subjects treated are: (1) the theory of relational propositions and (2) the theory of variable propositional functions.

The only form of judgment known to old logic was the predicative form, 'Socrates is a man,' 'all (or some) Greeks are men.' In this form the predicate, that is a property, is ascribed to the subject. Leibniz had put forward the demand that logic should treat of the relational proposition also. By a proposition of this sort, *e.g.*, '*a* is greater than *b*,' a relation is ascribed to two or more objects. Leibniz's outline of a theory of relations was first worked out by the new logic. In old logic relational propositions were also put in the predicative form. But this makes impossible many inferences which cannot be dispensed with. One can of course say that in the proposition '*A* is greater than *B*,' the property of being greater than *B* is ascribed to *A*. Here the predicate becomes a unity and by no rule of inference we can disengage *B* from it; and so from the above proposition it is not possible to infer that *B* is smaller than *A*. In the new logic it is made possible in this way. The relation 'smaller' is defined as the converse of the relation 'greater' and the above inference rests on the general rule: 'if there is a relation between *x* and *y*, the converse of this relation holds between *y* and *x*.' Another example of a proposition which could not be proved by the old logic is this: 'if there is a conqueror, there is a conquered.' In the new logic, it follows from the logical proposition that if a relation has a fore-member (*vorderglied*) it has also a back-member (*hinterglied*).

The relational propositions are absolutely necessary, particularly for mathematical sciences. Let us take for instance the three-termed geometrical relation of betweenness (on a plane surface). The geometrical axioms "if *a* lies between *b* and *c*,

it lies between c and b '' and '' if a lies between b and c, b does not lie between a and c '' could not be properly expressed in the old logic. It would take 'lying between b and c' and 'lying between c and b' as predicates in the first axiom. If they are left unanalysed, it is difficult to understand how the second axiom could be got out of the first. If we take the objects, b and c, out of the predicate, then we understand that the proposition does not assign a property to an object but assigns a determination to three objects, that is, it is a relational proposition of three terms.

Such relations as 'between,' 'greater' are of a sort that we cannot place their terms in any serial order we like. They determine an order and the determination of order in any field depends on the use of such relations. When of a class of two objects, we know which is greater than the other, we know their order. It may be supposed that we can determine order even by predicative assertions, *i.e.*, by ascribing some quantity to one object and some other to the other. But we cannot order the objects, unless we know the order of their quantities. This is not possible without the use of an ordering relation. Thus we find that the theory of relations is indispensable for those sciences which have to do with orders and series: such as arithmetic (series of numbers), geometry (series of points) and physics (series of magnitudes, such as those of space, time and other quantitative states).

The predicative form of judgment has had very serious results in non-logical branches of knowledge also. Russell is probably right when he says that a certain wrong notion of metaphysics may be traced to this defect of logic. When every proposition must assign a predicate to the subject, ultimately there will be only one subject, the absolute, and every fact will consist in this that some attribute is ascribed to the absolute.

In physics it resulted in the substantial conception of matter which prevented the progress of this science for a long time. When the fundamental form of an assertion about space is

predicative, it can consist only in the determination of the position of a body. But the elementary fact is not the absolute position of a body, but its relation to other bodies. Leibniz saw this. Epistemologically he came to the conclusion that what is determinable is not any absolute position in space but only relative position. But his fight for the relativistic conception of space against the absolutistic one of Newton and his followers was as little successful as his demands in logic. His ideas triumphed after two hundred years in logic through the theory of relation (of Demorgan and Pierce) and in physics through the theory of relativity (of Mach and Einstein).

Logical Antinomies and the Theory of Types.

In modern mathematics certain remarkable contradictions or paradoxes were discovered which defied solution. After a close examination it was found that they were not specifically mathematical in character but were of a general logical nature. Even the new logic could not at first solve these contradictions. But Russell succeeded in eliminating these contradictions by his theory of types.

Let us take a very simple example of antinomy given by Russell. A concept is called predicable if it can be applied to itself, *e.g.*, the concept abstract is abstract. A concept is called impredicable when it cannot be applied to itself, *e.g.*, the concept virtuous is not virtuous. Now according to the law of excluded middle, the concept impredicable is either predicable or impredicable. If it is predicable, then according to the definition of 'predicable' given above, it should be applied to itself, that is, it is impredicable. If the concept impredicable is impredicable, then, since it is applied to itself, it is predicable according to the above defination. Thus both these alternatives lead to contradiction. We are made to say the opposite of what we say at first.

The theory of types says that all concepts, and so all properties and relations, must be divided into types. For the sake of simplicity let us confine ourselves to properties only.

Here we distinguish: individuals which are not properties (null grade), the properties of the individuals (first grade), the properties of the Properties of individuals (second grade) and so forth. Let us take 'bodies' as individuals then 'quadrangular' 'red' are properties of the first grade; 'spatial property' 'colour' are properties of the second grade. According to the theory of types the properties of the first grade can be applied (truly or falsely) to individuals only. They cannot be applied to the properties of the first or any higher grade. The properties of the second grade can be applied to the properties of the first grade but they are not applicable to individuals or to the properties of the second or any higher grade. For example, if *a* and *b* are bodies, the propositions, '*a* is quadrangular,' '*b* is red' are true or false, in any case significant; further the propositions 'quadrangular is a spatial property,' 'red is a colour' are true. On the other hand the series of words '*a* is a spatial property,' 'quadrangular is red,' 'colour is a spatial property' are neither true nor false but are quite meaningless; they are not propositions at all. Such illusory propositions would be avoided if a concept (property) of the *n*th grade were always applied only to the concepts of the $(n-1)$th grade. It follows from this that the supposition, that a concept is either applicable to itself or not, is neither true nor false but quite meaningless. It is clear therefore that if the rule given by the theory of types were followed the above antinomies would never arise, for the given definition of 'predicable' would not be allowed at all.

Mathematics as a Branch of Logic.

Frege had already come to the conclusion that mathematics should be treated as a branch of logic. Russell and Whitehead carried out a systematic demonstration of this conception. It is found that every mathematical concept can be derived from the fundamental concepts of logic and every mathematical proposition (in so far as it is applicable to any object of thought what-

ever) can likewise be derived from the ultimate principles of logic.

The most important concepts of new logic (which are partly reducible to one another are the following: (1) negation, 'not,' (2) the logical connexion of two propositions, 'and,' 'or' 'if then,' (3) 'every' or 'all' 'there is,' (4) 'identical.' The possibility of deriving arithmetical concepts can be illustrated by a simple example. The number two as a cardinal number, that is, as the number of a concept can be defined in purely logical terms in the following way: "The number of a concept f is two" means "there is an x and there is a y such that x is not identical with y, and x falls under f and y falls under f and that for every z, it is true that if it falls under f,—it is identical with x or y." We see that in this definition we have used only the so-called logical concepts. Similarly all natural, positive, negative, real and complex numbers, fractions, etc., as well as the concepts of analysis can be derived.

As every mathematical concept is derived from logical concepts, it follows that every mathematical proposition can be translated into a proposition about purely logical concepts, and this translation is then deducible from logical principles. Let us take the arithmetical proposition '$1+1=2$' as an example. Its translation into a purely logical proposition is as follows, 'If a concept f has the number 1 and a concept g the number 1, and f and g exclude each other, and the concept h is a combination of f and g, then h has the number 2.' This translation represents a proposition of the Theory of Propositional Function and can be derived from logical principles. Similarly all the remaining propositions of arithmatic and analysis, in their widest sense, can be derived as logical propositions.

The Tautological Character of Logic.

The usual distinction between a primary and a derivative proposition in logic is arbitrary. It is quite inessential for a logical proposition whether it is derived from some other

proposition; its own validity is recoginsed from its very form. It can be shown by a simple example.

From the two propositions p, q, we can, with the help of logical connexions, construct other propositions, such as not-p, not-q, p or q, p and q. The truth of these complex propositions does not clearly depend upon the meaning of the propositions p, q, but on their truth-value, *i.e.*, whether they are true or false. Now there can be four combinations of their truth-values. (1) p is true, and q is true, TT, (2) p is true, and q is false TF, (3) FT, (4) FF. The sense of a logical connexion is determined by the fact that with the help of this connexion the propositions built out of p and q are in some cases true and in others false. The meaning 'or' (non-exclusive), *e.g.*, is determined by the fact that the proposition 'p or q' is true in the first three cases and false in the fourth. Combined propositions may be further combined and their truth-value determined in the same way. We may take the following proposition as an example, "(not-p and not-q) or (p or q)." We can first determine the truth-value of its constituent parts and then the truth-value of the whole proposition. Thereby we come to a remarkable result. 'Not-p' is true only in the third and fourth

pq.[1]	not-p.	not-q.	not-p and not-q.	p or q.	(not-p and not-q) or (p or p).
1. TT	F	F	F	T	T
2. TF	F	T	F	T	T
3. FT	T	F	F	T	T
4. FF	T	T	T	F	T

cases, 'not-q' is true only in the second and the fourth; therefore 'not-p and not-q' is true only in the fourth case; 'p or q' is true in the first three cases, and so the whole proposition '(not-p and

[1] This diagram is taken from *Erkeuntries*, Band 1, Heft 1.

not-q) or (p or q)' is true in every case. A formula, which depends neither on the meaning nor on the truth-value of the propositions which occur in it, but is necessarily true of any propositions, whatever, true or false, is called a tautology. A tautology is true on the ground of its mere form. It can be shown that all propositions of logic and so also those of mathematics, according to the view here advocated, are tautological.

If we are told " It rains (here now) or it snows," we learn something about reality, for of the possible alternatives, some are excluded and some others are left as open. The alternatives are: (1) it rains and it snows; (2) it rains but does not snow; (3) it snows but does not rain; (4) it does not rain and it does not snow. The above proposition excludes the fourth alternative but leaves the first three open. If on the contrary a tautology is asserted no possibility is excluded, all are left as open. From a tautology therefore we can learn nothing about reality, for instance, when we are told ' It rains or it does not rain.'

The tautologies do not say anything and are empty of content. But they do not need to be trivial, for in many cases their tautological character cannot be recognised at the first sight.

As all propositions of logic are tautological and have no content, it is not possible to conclude from them anything about the nature of reality. So there is no justification for the sort of Metaphysics that some philosophers (*e.g.*, Hegel) claim to develop purely from logical principles.

Mathematics, being a branch of logic is also tautological. To express in Kantian language, the propositions of mathematics are analytical, there is no synthetic apriori proposition. Thus apriorism loses its strongest support. Empiricism, the conception namely that there are no synthetic apriori propositions, found great difficulties in explaining mathematics which even Mill could not overcome. They are resolved when we suppose that mathematical propositions are neither empirical nor synthetical apriori but are analytical.

A Unitary Science.

Although the standard work on new logic is written in English, it does not appear to be much utilized for philosophical purposes in the English-speaking countries, except in a few writings of Russell. It is now being very vigorously put to philosophical use by a body of philosophical writers in Austria known under the name of Viennese circle (Wiener Kreis).[1] Wittgenstein, Rudolf Carnap and Moritz Schlick are some of its leading writers, of whom Wittgenstein was a student of Russell and Carnap too is very much influenced by Russell's way of thinking.[2]

According to these writers pure logic with its formal problems is to be distinguished from applied logic, *i.e.*, the logical analysis of the concepts and propositions of different sciences. In this too new logic has achieved good results.

An analysis of scientific concepts shows that all concepts, whether they belong, according to the usual division, to natural sciences or to psychological or social sciences, go back to a common basis. They can be traced back or reduced to some root-concepts which relate to the given or the immediate contents of experience. First, the concepts of individual psychology, *i.e.*, those that relate to the psychical processes of the knowing subject can be reduced to the given. The concepts of Physics can be reduced to the concepts of individual Psychology, because a physical process is determinable principally through perception. Out of the physical concepts can be constructed the concepts of other minds which will relate to the processes of other subjects. Lastly the concepts of social sciences can be derived from the above concepts.

[1] This school is not even mentioned in Dr. Tudor Jones's recent book '*Contemporary Thought of Germany. The Monist* published a small article on this school in its last October issue. Von Aster gives a brief account of this school in his paper 'Les aspects principaux de la philosophie allemande contemporaine' published in *Revue de Metaphysique et de Morale*, April-June, 1931.

[2] See on Carnap's Philosophy, 'Logic and Realism' in *Monist*, October, 1929.

Thus we get a genealogy of concepts (a system of constitution) in which every concept of science must find its place according to its derivation from other concepts and ultimately from the given. The system of constitution further shows that every proposition of science is, in a similar way, ultimately a proposition about the given (methodological positivism).

The fundamental concepts of the comprehensive system of constitution are physical, that is, they relate to the spatio-temporal processes only. The psychological and sociological concepts can be reduced to them according to the principle of behaviourism (methodological materialism).

The methodological positivism and the methodological materialism have nothing to do with the metaphysical positivism and the metaphysical materialism. The metaphysical positivism speaks of the reality of the given and the metaphysical materialism speaks of the reality of the physical. We are not saying anything of the kind. We are concerned merely with the derivation of concepts; and so, although metaphysical positivism is inconsistent with metaphysical materialism, the given (sensa) and the physical being different, our advocacy of both methodological positivism and methodological materialism does not involve any contradiction. Our positivism satisfies the point of view of epistemology, as the validity of a piece of knowledge is shown by tracing it to the given; our materialism satisfies the point of view of positive sciences, as all concepts are traced to the physical the only field which makes thoroughgoing conformity to law and inter-subjective knowledge possible.

The logical analysis with the help of new logic leads to the conception of a unitary science. There are not different sciences with fundamentally different methods and different sources of knowledge but there is only one science. In it all knowledge finds its place as fundamentally knowledge of the same sort Its apparent difference is due to the different modes o expression.

Elimination of Metaphysics.

It follows from the tautological character of logic that all inferences are also tautological in character. The conclusion always says the same thing as, or less than, the premises, only in different words. One state of things (one atomic fact) cannot be inferred from another state of things. From this follows the impossibility of all metaphysics that will infer, from the facts of experience, the being of something transcendent, which lies beyond experience, some thing-in-itself, unconditional and absolute. There can be no strict inference which will lead us from experience to something beyond experience. The metaphysical chain of reasoning must therefore contain many necessary breaks and concepts are introduced which can be traced neither to the given nor to the physical.

With the help of the strict methods of new logic a sort of purification of the sciences can be undertaken. Every proposition of science must be shown to have a meaning. It will be found either that it is a tautology or contradiction (negation of tautology), in which case the proposition will belong to logic, inclusive of mathematics, or that it speaks of a content, *i.e.*, it it is neither tautological nor contradictory but is an empirical proposition. It is then traceable to the given and so fundamentally determinable as true or false. There are no questions which are fundamentally unanswerable. There is no philosophy, as a system of peculiar propositions which are different from the propositions of sciences. To do the work of philosophy is nothing else than to clarify the concepts and propositions of science through logical analysis. The instrument for this work is supplied by the new logic.

R. Das

LOCAL BOARDS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY

PART II.

7. *The Report of the Decentralisation Commission.*

The next stage in the history of administrative areas is opened by the Report of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation. The most remarkable of its findings was the need for the preservation of the Indian village as a community and for preventing its further disintegration. The village was the one area in which the people had the consciousness that they were a community with common ideals and requirements. This consciousness was absent in all other bigger areas or was present only in a small degree. It was the duty of the Government to develop and foster it, and the setting up of a panchayat—a separate local authority—was one effective means for realising this end. It was not so much in the interests of efficient and economical local government—although these interests were equally predominant—that the village should be made the starting point in fixing the areas for local government as in the interests of village solidarity which has been a wholesome feature of the life of Indian People. "The foundation of any stable edifice which shall associate the people with the administration must be the village, as being an area of much greater antiquity than administrative creations such as Tahsils, and one in which the people are known to one another, and have interests which converge on definite and well-recognised objects like water-supply and drainage. It is probable, indeed, that the scant success of the efforts hitherto made to introduce a system of rural self-government is largely due to the fact that we have not built up from the bottom." [1] This rediscovery of the place that the

[1] Report of the Decentralisation Commission, para. 699.

village occupies in the economy of the country is the most significant and far-reaching of the findings of the Commission.

This carried along with it the recommendation that the union as an administrative area should be abolished.[1] It was neither a natural nor a popular unit, and it did not serve any useful purpose in the system of local government.

The Commission was also decidedly in favour of a smaller jurisdiction for the taluk board and advocated that it should be identical with the revenue taluk. In doing this it mainly reiterated the arguments put forward in the resolution of Lord Ripon.

Some of the witnesses[2] that appeared before the Commission pleaded for the abolition of the District Boards. They pointed out that the functions that these boards discharged were few and that the substantial portion of the work entrusted to local authorities was looked after by the taluk boards. The district boards were therefore superfluous and there was no justification for their retaining one half of the proceeds of the land cess. Their abolition, it was argued, would enrich the taluk boards and enable them to turn out better work.

On the other hand a fairly large number of witnesses advocated the retention of the district boards over and above the taluk boards. They repeated most of the arguments put forward in 1882 by the committee on local self-government. They also stated that at the district headquarters there were many persons whose talents and abilities were of a high order and whose services should be secured for the cause of local government and that this would be possible only when the district board was retained; otherwise all that talent would be wasted. A more powerful argument was that the resources of the district board were larger than those of any single taluk board and that the former alone would be in a position to maintain a high standard

[1] Report of the Decentralisation Commission, para. 721.

[2] ,, ,, ,, ,, 736.

of efficiency among the technical staff of engineers, etc., as it could afford to pay higher salaries to them. Economy and efficiency therefore required the continuance of the district board.[1]

The Commission agreed with the latter view and recommended the retention of both the district and taluk boards.[2] It is curious that in those days no one argued for the abolition of the taluk boards in this Presidency though this opinion gained ground later on. The claims of smaller jurisdictions were uppermost in the minds of all those that interested themselves in the work of local boards.

8. *The Resuscitation of the Village Community.*

The period between 1909 and 1920 witnessed a fierce controversy over the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission especially in regard to the resuscitation of the village community. The Minto-Morley reforms brought into the legislative council a number of publicists who had practical experience of the working of local boards and who also made a systematic study of the subject. They were keen on the passing of legislation in favour of village panchayats. But there was a good deal of dilatory correspondence between the Imperial and Provincial Governments on the several conclusions of the Royal Commission and it took six years for the Imperial Government to define its policy in regard to local self-government. A resolution on this was issued by that Government in 1915 and this favoured the formation of village panchayats in selected areas with only permissive powers and limited authority in matters of taxation. It also suggested that in each village selected for the purpose there should be a single panchayat for all functions instead of different panchayats for different duties.[3]

1 Evidence of Mr. P. Rajaratna Mudaliar and Mr. H. W. Gillman.

2 Report of the Commission, para. 737.

3 Government of India Resolution of 1915.

The Madras Government took action on the Resolution of the Government of India by passing an order[1] calling on district authorities to organise unions under the Local Boards Act in villages having a population of more than three thousand and informal panchayats in selected villages with a population of three thousand and less. This step was unsatisfactory for two reasons. It proposed to increase the number of unions which were condemned as unsatisfactory and unworkable. Even after the issue of the order the number of unions increased very slowly. It was 464 in 1916-17 and it went up to only 572 in 1920-21. This was evidence—if any further evidence was wanted—that the union had no natural strength behind it. A second reason was that the Government order proposed to start only informal panchayats in villages. These panchayats were not based on any statute. The panchayatdars were to be selected by the revenue authorities not as the result of any regular election by the inhabitants of the village but after informally consulting them and finding out their general sense. The panchayats had no statutory authority to collect taxes or enforce on the villagers any rules regarding sanitation and public health. They were expected to use their influence and persuasive powers to raise subscriptions from the public for the work they proposed to do. There was also no statutory guarantee that they would be given contributions by the other local boards or by the provincial Government. With handicaps like these the informal panchayats were expected to revive the community life in the village.

This attitude of the Government did not commend itself to the public or to their representatives in the legislature. The whole order was condemned and in the resolutions[2] moved by the non-official representatives in the legislative council, it was clearly pointed out that unions whose number it was proposed to increase would not fulfil the purpose for which panchayats

[1] G. O. No. 1410 L, dated 2nd October, 1915.

[2] Proceedings of the Madras Legislative Council, 23rd November, 1915; 3rd February, 1916; 23rd May, 1917; 3rd April, 1919.

were advocated; that the union under the Local Boards Act had only a limited scope of usefulness and that it was not in a position to attend to agricultural improvements, the settlement of petty disputes and the regulation of communal waste lands, etc., in which the villagers were really interested and that the increase in the number of unions would not materially improve the situation. They also argued that informal panchayats were bound to fail for the reasons already referred to and that that failure would be interpreted by Government as a sign that self-government could not thrive in Indian villages. Moreover the number of villages with a population of 3,000 is small and the experiment would hardly touch even five per cent. of the rural population. Of course the Government wanted to move cautiously. Its object was to wait and see how the experiment of informal panchayats worked and to pass later on the necessary legislation for starting statutory panchayats.

Within three years the Government also became convinced that informal panchayats could not work successfully and that the experiment was doomed to fail. It therefore had a Village Panchayats Act passed in 1920 thus giving effect in a way to the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission. In doing this it was influenced by the Government of India Resolution of 1918 and the report of Montagu and Chelmsford on constitutional reforms.

The Village Panchayats Act was an enabling measure making it possible for the inhabitants of any village who had sufficient public spirit to have a panchayat constituted in the village exercising statutory powers in all matters relating to sanitation, protection, medical relief, housing, education, etc. It was defective in the sense that it did not call on Government to constitute panchayats compulsorily in all the villages of the Presidency. Even after the passing of the Act most of the villages went without a community-government of their own. But there was a wide scope under the Act for the restoration of the ancient village life in all those places in which disintegration

did not proceed too far. By the end of 1924-25, 579 panchayats were started [1] and their number increased greatly.

Another recommendation of the Commission on Decentralisation was to constitute a separate board for each revenue taluk. This also was made the subject of a number of resolutions in the Legislative Council and several members wanted that to achieve this object the Government should increase the number of taluk boards.[2] They showed that the jurisdiction of some taluk boards was unwieldy and that it extended in some cases over an area of nearly 2,000 square miles. They also pointed out that the new experiment of having non-official presidents on which the Government embarked would have greater chance of success if the area over which the presidents had to tour and carry on personal inspection was reduced. This reduction would also help in securing for the boards the services of persons with local knowledge and experience and make the people pay the local taxes more willingly. The Government was not however prepared to constitute each revenue taluk into a separate area mainly because of the poverty of several taluks. They also agreed to increase the number of boards wherever the financial conditions were favourable and in pursuance of this policy created fifteen additional boards by 1919-20. The number in that year was 98 compared with 83 of the year in which the Decentralisation Commission issued its report.

9. *The Areas under the Act of 1920.*

The famous declaration of August, 1917, in the House of Commons, the issue of a new resolution on local self-government by the Government of India in 1918 and the Report on Constitutional Reforms by Montagu and Chelmsford were responsible

[1] Administration Report on Village Panchayats for 1924-25.

[2] Proceedings of the Madras Legislative Council, 29th March, 1915.

for the passing of the Local Boards Act of 1920. It did not bring about any alterations in administrative areas. All the older units—the Union, the Taluk and the District were retained. It may appear strange that the Act provided for the "Union" also even though it was condemned on all sides. Several wanted to abolish it [1] on the ground that it was unnecessary in view of the legislation on village panchayats and that there was really no room for two kinds of village government. But the Government was of the view that unions should be formed in bigger villages which had some urban characteristics and which had therefore possibilities of developing into municipalities in course of time while panchayats would be formed in places which were entirely rural in character. This was of course a distinction without a difference and for the time being the Government triumphed. As regards the jurisdiction of the taluk board the Government was not in favour of making it coterminous with the revenue taluk in spite of the resolution of Lord Ripon, the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission and the debates in the Legislative Council. As in the Act of 1884 the Government reserved to itself the discretion to define the limits of a 'taluk' for purposes of the Act. One of the new arguments brought against each revenue taluk being made a separate area was that it would be difficult to get in each taluk a sufficiently large number of persons qualified to be elected to the boards and preside over them and that the constitution of larger areas would give the electorate a wider field for the choice of their representatives and presidents. But in practice the new Government which in matters of local self-government was presided over by a minister who correctly understood the views of the public, increased the number of taluk boards to 125 by 1922-23 setting up a separate board in each revenue taluk in very many cases.

[1] Mr. Siva Rao's amendment, M.L.C.P., 20th September, 1920.

10. *The Bill of 1928 : the Abolition of Taluk Boards.*

Experience of the working of local boards from 1921 onwards reopened the controversy as to whether there was need for both taluk and district boards in any scheme of rural self-government. In contrast with the sentiments expressed in favour of taluk boards in the past the opinion now gained ground that they should be abolished and that all functions of local government should be entrusted to the district boards. This view was the outcome of the financial deficits that several taluk boards had to face and the difficulty they experienced in maintaining their financial equilibrium. It was also the opinion of many that much was unnecessarily spent on the travelling allowances and batta of the presidents and the members of the boards. The question therefore arose whether it was worth while to keep on boards which could not balance their budgets and which showed a tendency to incur wasteful expenditure. Another ground on which the abolition of the taluk boards was urged was that in every part of the world people were beginning to realise that larger administrative areas were both economical and efficient and that roads, schools, hospitals and sanitary services could all be maintained at a higher standard if the resources were centralised and pooled under the control of one institution instead of being scattered among a number of smaller bodies. This was the application to the field of local government the theories of large-scale organisation characteristic of all modern industries.

The consequence of the new view was that in 1928 the Government circulated a bill to amend the Local Boards Act of 1920 with the object of abolishing the taluk boards. This bill, though sound in principle, roused considerable opposition from several quarters. The opposition itself was the result of the working of the new political forces in the country released in consequence of the enfranchisement of a large number of

CRCU 1929

people under the reformed government of the country and of the general political unrest and agitation since 1920. To the members of the middle classes and especially of the landed gentry success at elections became a symbol of pride and honour. The existence of the taluk boards afforded numerous opportunities for ambitious politicians to obtain this success. To them the abolition of the taluk boards meant the stifling of their desire for power and place.

The opposition was also based on higher grounds. It was said that the abolition of the taluk boards would strike at the very root of self-government which required for its success small areas the inhabitants of which knew each other and were therefore in a position to understand the merits of the candidates standing for election decide for themselves as to who were worthy of their confidence and also watch closely and carefully the work of their representatives on the boards. Self-government outside the village was something of a novelty to the people of the country and in the earliest stages of their being trained in the art of self-government and intimate contact between the electorate and its representatives was essential. The taluk being small in area fulfilled this purpose and its abolition, it was feared, would widen the breach between the people and their representatives and increase the evil influence of the canvassing agent and the professional politician.

There were also in each district large numbers of persons who were prepared to render disinterested service in the field of local government. They were not of the type of ambitious and unscrupulous politicians but men actuated by the highest motives of patriotism. It was argued that to give them adequate opportunity for serving the country the number of self-governing institutions should be large. The existence of taluk boards served this purpose in an admirable manner. Their abolition would result in the denial to such persons of opportunities for service and all their political talent becoming wasted. One district board would be too small to admit all the reserving

GS 1461

members of this class. This argument of course assumed that there were many persons of this sort in each district and that they could become useful members of the community only by occupying a seat on the local board. But both these assumptions are not quite valid.

A fourth argument was that the abolition of the taluk boards would lead to too much centralisation of authority in the district bringing in its train very many evils associated with centralisation. It was feared that the work of administration would become too heavy for the non-official president and that the whole machinery would break down. It was also apprehended that that might result in power passing into the hands of the permanent staff of the district board and weaken the authority of the elected president and of the board itself.

11. *The Bill of 1929.*

The ministry of the day ultimately yielded to the pressure to the above arguments, withdrew the bill circulated in 1928 and introduced a fresh bill in 1929 which was diametrically opposed to the previous bill in the matter of provisions relating to taluk boards. The ministry cared little for principles and was guided entirely by expediency. In the new bill it proposed the abolition of the taluk boards but this was done not with the object of concentrating all authority in the single district board but of diffusing it among a number of circle boards, each of the old taluk boards now being subdivided into a number of circle boards. Its stand-point in 1928 was that small jurisdiction were wasteful and inefficient; and in 1929 it proposed through the new bill the perpetuation in a worse form of all this waste and inefficiency by creating still smaller jurisdictions.

A welcome feature of the new bill was its proposal to abolish the union, to incorporate the village panchayats in the local boards and repeal the Village Panchayats Act of 1920. The Government realised that there was no scope for two kinds of

local authorities in the villages and the distinction which it previously drew between rural villages and urban villages was not quite correct. It now provided for one uniform kind of local government for all the villages in which the Local Boards Act, might be enforced. There was also a strong feeling that the number of village panchayats would increase at a more rapid pace if one statute governed local government in rural areas.

The select committee which considered the bill did not favour the substitution of circle boards for taluk boards. They stated that, "in their opinion there should ordinarily be a taluk board for every revenue taluk and the splitting up of the revenue taluks for purposes of local administration is most undesirable. The Government have however been empowered to constitute a taluk board for more revenue taluks than one for reasons to be specified....." A second important change the committee proposed was the introduction of a provision enjoining on the Government the duty of establishing a panchayat in every revenue village having a population of not less than one thousand people. It is unfortunate that this recommendation was not accepted by the Government and the legislature primarily on the ground that there were thousands of such villages in the presidency and the constitution of panchayats for all of them could not possibly be effected as soon as the Act was passed or even for a considerable time after that.[1]

12. *The Present Areas.*

The amending bill was passed into law in 1930; and the local boards in the presidency are now governed by the Act of 1920 as amended in 1930. Under the amended Act the administrative areas are of three grades: (1) The first is the village. This is good so far as it goes. But it would have been

[1] The dissenting minute of Dr. P. Subbarayan and two other members to the report of the Select Committee, para. 2.

better if a provision had been introduced making it obligatory on Government to constitute a panchayat in every village within a particular period of time. Otherwise there is the danger of complete disintegration overtaking most of the villages and many of them being denied the benefit of measures promoting their health and general welfare. The only relieving feature is that district boards are expected to have a Panchayat Officer for the district and if one is appointed he might devote much of his attention to the organising of new panchayats at a speedy rate. (2) The second administrative area is the 'Taluk.' According to the Act, "Every revenue taluk shall be deemed to be a taluk for the purposes of this Act.[1] There is therefore a prospect of a further increase in the number of taluk boards. The principle enunciated by Lord Ripon so early as 1882 now received statutory recognition. The Government is empowered to alter under special circumstances the area constituting a taluk.[2] (3) The third is the "District" which is identical with the revenue district.[3]

13. *The Future. The Case for the Abolition of Taluk Boards.*

The above historical survey has brought out clearly the various factors under the influence of which the Government fixed the administrative areas for purposes of local government in rural parts from time to time. From the beginning logic had to make compromise with administrative requirements and practical necessities. The question cannot be regarded as having been settled finally. The need for three areas has not been established once for all. A calm consideration of the subject and the experience of actual working of the boards may bring about a modification in the number of areas and

[1] Clause (1) of section (4).
[2] ,, (2) ,, ,,
[3] ,, (7) ,, (3).

eventually lead to the abolition of the taluk and the retention only of the village and the district.

The reasons which impel one to make such a forecast are easily understood. (1) In any scheme of local government in this presidency the basis must be the village. It is the only natural unit of administration. It has district needs and a traditional life of its own and this makes it necessary that it should have a separate local authority to manage its affairs. This is not the place to draw a list of all such affairs but it must be conceded that wherever a group of inhabitants reside together some affairs in the regulation of which they have a common interest will arise and this is bound to be the case with the Indian village. The sanitary needs of the village, the proper maintenance of its streets, the control of communal porambokes, the provision of gardens and parks and the management of the several other petty matters in which an Indian village is interested require the establishment of a panchayat in the locality. No centralised and outside authority can look properly after these needs. As a community the Indian village has not only a long past but also a longer future before it. In spite of the growth of individualism and the break-up of the old self-sufficiency under the influence of modern competitive civilisation the village is still a community for agricultural purposes. There is also no prospect whatever of the peasants leaving the common village site and living in scattered houses in their fields. There is also at present a strong force at work which tries to bring about what is called rural reconstruction whose central feature is a revival of what is best in the Indian village community. "Back to the village" is becoming the cry of a larger number of people. Everything therefore points to the conclusion that the village is bound to be a separate administrative entity in future. It is the only natural entity and all those factors that have been responsible for the resuscitation of the village in the recent past will work with greater vigour in future until panchayats are universally established. In the interests of training people in self-government

also the village should be recognised as a separate administrative area. It will give to every man and woman the first lessons in that field and give opportunities for as many as possible to obtain the necessary training.

(2) But there are certain functions of local government which cannot be efficiently discharged by the village panchayat because of the poverty of its resources. While, therefore, the sentiment that the individuality of the village deserves preservation is to be respected it is neither desirable nor practicable to make the panchayat responsible for the management of all local affairs. It will be a difficult task for every village to provide itself with a school or connect itself with roads with the neighbouring villages and markets, or have a theatre or cinema of its own. For these and other costly purposes a unit larger than the village with command over better finances is required. And it is with this object that the Act has provided for the taluk and the district boards.

The functions however of the taluk and the district boards are identical; and whatever distinction there exists in the Act is not based on any rational principle. If panchayats become universal—and the hope is that this will be realised—all those functions that the panchayats are not able to look after may be discharged either by the taluk board or by the district board. Both these institutions are unnecessary. Because they exist at present the Act has brought about an artificial division of duties between elementary and secondary education—the taluk boards having control over the former and the district board over the latter. But it will be better that this distinction is abolished and all education treated as a single course. And as a matter of fact district boards are managing elementary education to the extent to which lower classes are attached to secondary schools. With respect to medical relief the inhabitants of a locality are expected to look to the district boards in certain cases and to the taluk boards in other cases. Here again the distinction drawn is not natural and it would be better if one institution alone is

made responsible for all kinds of medical relief so that the people might know where the mistake lies in case anything goes wrong. Similarly libraries, markets, fairs, festivals, choultries, roads, etc., are placed at present within the jurisdiction of both taluk and district boards and it will be a hard and fruitless task to classify these into taluk and district institutions. "It is clearly contrary to the common sense that there should in any area be two sets of authorities dealing with indistinguishable problems. The result of such a system is that no single body is in a position to study the needs of the whole area in relation to the financial burden which it can and ought to be asked to bear."[1] Under these circumstances the better course is to do away with either the taluk or the district board and retain only one of them.

(3) In deciding the issue as to which of these should be abolished two or three points have to be kept in mind. The retention of the district board is inevitable for the discharge of certain functions which require large financial resources. The construction and maintenance of the trunk roads and of the bridges and causeways of a costly character; the undertaking of remunerative enterprises requiring a large initial outlay like railways, tramways and motor-bus services; the equipment and management of hospitals with specialist medical staff are not within the reach of most of the taluk boards. And if the policy of having a taluk board for each revenue taluk is pursued to its logical conclusion the position will become much worse. For the discharge therefore of duties like these the district board has to be retained. There are also other matters in the regulation of which a high degree of uniformity is necessary. All preventive and remedial measures connected with epidemics and the proper enforcement of sanitary rules through the district health-officer and his staff come under this category. The district board is better fitted to look after these than the taluk boards.

[1] "Relief to the Tax-payer," by Sir Kingsley Wood, p. 30.

Considerations of efficiency also point out in the same direction. Administrative efficiency depends to a considerable extent on the qualifications of the staff employed for carrying on work in the different departments like engineering, medicine, sanitation, education, etc. A qualified staff cannot under present circumstances be obtained unless high and attractive salaries are paid, unless provision is made for better emoluments and prospects for people with long services and merit and opportunities are created for cultivating abilities of a specialised nature. The taluk board will not be in the same favourable position to do all this as the district board. The present practice of the district board recruiting the expert staff and permitting them to do the work of the taluk boards has created a good deal of friction between the two authorities. The remedy therefore lies in doing away with the taluk boards.

(4) From the standpoint of economy also the abolition of the taluk boards appears desirable. There is at present a large amount of wasteful expenditure on the travelling allowances of the members and presidents of taluk boards and the maintenance of the clerical and the managerial staff. Figures for any year will show that the proportion of the cost of the management to the total expenditure of the taluk boards is far higher than the corresponding proportion in the case of district boards. For instance in 1928-29, the total expenditure of the taluk boards in the presidency—which is a fair index of the work turned out by them—was Rs. 1,65,36,928 and the cost of management was Rs. 11,16,013 which is 6·6 per cent. of the total expenditure. The expenditure incurred by the district boards in the same year was Rs. 3,52,03,827 while the cost of management was Rs. 8,95,783 which is only 2·56 per cent. of the total expenditure. This shows that the percentage of expenditure on mere management incurred by the taluk boards is two and half times as much as the percentage in the case of district boards. It is a proof of the wastefulness involved in administration by the taluk boards. Their abolition would release funds which could be

spent to more useful purpose while the abolition of the district will not bring any net gain under the cost of management.

(5) Two possible objections to this conclusion may be raised. One is that the work will become too heavy for the district board if it takes on itself all the responsibilities which it is sharing at present with a number of taluk boards. But it is not an insuperable objection. It will only mean that there should be a change in the machinery of district board administration. At present the president of the district board not only presides over its meetings but is also its chief executive officer. He is a non-official who has to attend to his own professional duties as a lawyer, a landlord or a merchant. He has not much time, even if he has the inclination, to look carefully into all the details of administration over which he as the chief executive officer is expected to exercise control. Much depends on the advice he receives from the manager of the office and from the friends that belong to his party. With the increase in the work of the district board it will become much more difficult for the president to carry on his executive duties and he will have to become more dependent on the manager. The solution is to recognise the impossibility of the president to discharge his duties satisfactorily even under the present circumstances and give him relief by appointing a paid responsible officer to look to all the details of administration. To thrust onerous duties on honorary officers is an anomaly. There are limits to the work that may be expected of such persons. Efficiency requires that paid and competent men should be appointed to do work on which much time and labour have to be spent.[1] The distinction between the sphere of the paid worker and the honorary worker is not clearly understood as yet in this country ; and if it is properly understood there can't be any objection to the appointment of a paid officer to

[1] Minutes of Dissent by Satyamurthi, Venkatarangamnacow, Srinivasa Iyengar, etc., to the Report of the Select Committee on Local Boards Amending Bill, 1929.





administer the affairs of the district board while the determination of the broad lines of policy may be retained in the hands of the president and the members of the board. This is the practice in many advanced countries like France and Germany and it is being resorted to in several other countries like the United States of America.[1]

A second change in machinery which will lighten the burden of work that will fall on the district board is the appointment of committees of the board with a number of co-opted experts to settle the technical issues arising in the course of administration and offer advice to the board as a whole. This device is not made use of to any extent at present. A resort to it will give much relief to the board. Reference to this will be made again in the chapter on the "Constitution of Local Boards."

A second objection that may be raised against the abolition of the taluk boards is that it will narrow the field for self-government. But this is not a sound objection. With the establishment of panchayats in an increasing number of villages the field for training in the art of self-government is bound to become wider. As regards opportunities that should be kept open for all talented people to render service it has to be noted that they will have the required opportunity in their own villages where they can become members of the panchayat and in the district board to which they might have the chance of being elected. Almost all the district boards as at present constituted may have a maximum strength of fifty-two and this is a sufficiently large number for attracting the best available talent to service in the cause of local government.

There is another misconception to which reference has to be made in this connection. Many are apt to think that it is only by occupying a seat on a local board that one will be in a position to render useful service to his neighbours in matters

[1] Report of the Indian Statutory (Simon) Commission, Vol. I, pp. 309-10. (Madras) Local Self-Government Gazette, Vol. I, p. 800; Vol. II, p. 89.

of local government. But this is not true. There are many other equally useful and necessary methods of service. The creation of a sound public opinion on matters of local administration, the educating of the electorate on their duties, responsibilities and rights, the conducting on impartial lines of journals devoted to the subjects and a free and fearless criticism of the work of the boards are several other means by which any honest citizen could be of service to his neighbourhood. One therefore need not think that with the abolition of the taluk boards the field for service in the cause of local self-government will become much narrower. On the other hand elections to too many boards and institutions may create a prejudice against elections in general and lessen the enthusiasm for self-government.

The work therefore for the future lies in the abolition of the taluk boards, the spread of the system of village panchayats and suitable alterations in the machinery of district board administration. This will reduce the administrative areas into two, *viz.*, the village and the district and make the work of local government simple, economical and efficient.

M. VENKATARANGAIYA

AUTUMN SUNSET

The autumn sun sailed down below the rim
Of silver streams. It trembled for a while
Like birds that preen their wings for flight on slim
And swaying sprays—then flashed a golden smile.
It launched itself to heaven's vault and shattered
The lowered vapors of the night and made
A group of brilliant colors float which scattered
About the sky as if on dress parade.
The faintly dancing rays crept through the panes
Of castles and of prisons where they plashed
Upon the floors in floods of gold and stains
Of purple made a bed where stars were dashed.
Then sunset tapped upon the sleepy land
And spilled a lullaby of golden sand.

LOUISE A. NELSON

SOME PROBLEMS OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS[1]

There are many a saying in the English language which in the course of your student career you have heard and heard till they have lost all the richness and the grandeur of their original meanings and have come to behave like the most trivial and commonplace utterances. Yet I do not think that I can introduce to you the subject-matter of my talk to-day in a better way than by referring to such an oft-repeated current saying. In this universe there is nothing great but man and in man there is nothing great but mind. Substitute the word 'wondrous' for 'great' and you will at once have a glimpse into the sentiments of those who have sufficiently studied psycho-analysis. For wonderful indeed are the ways of working of the human mind, as psycho-analysis reveals them to us; the more you study the deeper grows the wonder. I can only indicate some of these ways to you in this talk. But I doubt not that in the end, when the questions that will naturally arise in your mind during the course of this talk, have all been answered and the hesitations that you will probably feel in accepting the conclusions have been overcome, you will heartily join with me in the appreciation of the fascinating charms of psycho-analysis as a subject of study and of the immeasurable services rendered to suffering humanity by its great founder Sigmund Freud.

Before entering into the subject proper let me tell you at the outset something about the way in which psycho-analysis first made its appearance on the stage of the scientific world. It was during the treatment of an hysterical patient in collaboration with Dr. Breuer in Vienna that Freud first came to realise the extremely important part played by forgotten incidents of

[1] A talk to the students through the Radio arranged by the State Broadcasting Co. on 5th April, 1932.

one's own life in the causation of the symptoms of mental diseases. That led to investigations into the nature of forgotten episodes of life in general and through these to the discovery of the principles of the working of the mind as a whole, normal or abnormal. The discoveries were so novel and so startling in nature that they at first gave a severe shock to all alike irrespective of caste, creed, profession or religion. The moralists, the custodians of the social conscience, denounced the discoveries as demoralising teachings, the priests violently condemned them as profane preachings, the professional psychologists ignored altogether these epoch-making contributions and kept their text books free from this sacrilegious contamination. Even the medical men showed nothing but supreme indifference for the doctrines developed and had nothing but supercilious contempt for the man who developed them. That was the first reaction. Freud, convinced of the truth of his newly discovered principles waited patiently. He collected facts and more facts, heaped evidence upon evidence from the domain of normal life, from anthropology, from mythology, etc., not to speak of the personal life histories of the numerous patients that came to him for the relief of their sufferings. The facts told, the evidences had their effects. Gradually many were convinced and some began to follow the pioneer on his way to the subterranean depths of the mind. Paradoxical as it may sound, in that abyss they found light which illumined the dark patches of our conscious life. The number of such followers slowly increased. It is still increasing as is evidenced from the founding of psycho-analytical societies in countries far and near. It can never be expected that all opposition to it will cease. If the doctrine of organic evolution, dealing with things tangible can be still opposed and a professor teaching it be expelled from a university of an enlightened country, still more then can psycho-analysis be challenged because it deals with things that are not tangible. But Truth has its own way of establishing itself. It may begin with a minority of one but ends always with the majority at its

side. So it has been with truths of physical science, so it is on the way of being with truths of this new mental science. The positions of psycho-analysis now therefore is this: All opposition to it born out of mere pride, passion and prejudice has died a natural death, or what remains of it is negligible and not to be seriously considered. There are differences of opinion as to this or that particular interpretation, as to one way of approaching a particular problem or another, etc. And such differences, it should be emphasised are always welcome in the field of real scientific work. It is for the ventilation and discussion of such differences, as also for the organisation of knowledge hitherto obtained that scientific journals exist. And let me mention there are numbers of such highly scientific and technical journals to-day devoted only to psycho-analysis, ably conducted with the help of psycho-analysts from all parts of the globe.

I have so far only indicated to you in very general terms how originating from one centre, *viz.*, Vienna, and from one man, *viz.*, Freud, psycho-analysis has gradually spread itself all over the world. How the visions of Truth seen by Freud have been turned into realities, and tentative hypotheses framed by him have been established as theories is a story as interesting as it is instructive. To mention only a few workers. Abraham, Ferenczi, Rank, Eitingon, on the Continent, Jones, Stoddart, etc., in England, Brill, White, and others in America, Dr. Bose, Col. Berkeley-Hill in India are names that stand for solid achievement in this field of investigation. Many of them have confirmed previous discoveries and contributed valuable new materials which have made the foundation of psycho-analysis stronger and securer. It is for their activities that psycho-analysis has now become a household word all over the world. Had it not been for the efforts of Dr. G. Bose and the clear and far-sighted vision of the great Sir Asutosh psycho-analysis would not have been entered as a subject of study in the University curriculum and consequently a student's hour of

the Broadcasting programme would not have been devoted to-day to psycho-analysis.

From the consideration of these external affairs relating to the origin and growth of psycho-analysis, let us now turn our attention to matters concerning its internal structure and to the stuff it is made of. What is really psycho-analysis ? What does it deal with? What are those astounding and epoch-making conclusions that I have so feelingly referred to above ? Are these really justified and can they be verified ? What are its theoretical presuppositions and is the logic behind these assumptions correct and true? Is psycho-analysis of any practical use to individual persons or of any special benefit to society in general? Satisfactory answers to questions like these may be legitimately demanded of any branch of knowledge that claims a footing in the modern scientific world. You have every right therefore to put such pertinent questions to those who are championing psycho-analysis. It is my proud privilege therefore to answer on their behalf the questions which I assume to have been put by you.

What is psycho-analysis ? Literally it signifies only an analysis of the psyche or mind. But the word analysis is not used here in that general sense. It is a special kind of analysis carried out by following a special method. Broadly it is that analysis which traces conscious thoughts or ideas, acts or feelings, to their roots in the depths of the unconscious mind. The word psycho-analysis however, is sometimes used to denote the special *method* employed in such analysis ; sometimes it refers to the *findings* obtained by following such a method. We have no quarrel with these various meanings ascribed to the word provided that each strictly adheres in theory to concepts which lie at the basis of psycho-analysis and follows in practice a technique founded on the assumption of that basis. But I would like to warn you strongly against the terrible and often mischievous misrepresentation that is frequently made of the facts and principles of psycho-analysis in drawing room conversations,

in popular parlance, and even in the pages of monthly or weekly journals. The danger in these usages comes from the fact that the truths of psycho-analysis are held out as justifications for the carrying out of an individual's own motives and desires, however repugnant these might be to the accepted standards of social morality. It is like that case when a man in anger called his father an old monkey and then justified it on grounds of the evolution theory. It will be evident later how perversely mistaken all such notions are.

Psycho-analysis, I have said above, traces a conscious idea or a symptom of mental disease to its root in the unconscious mind. But that at once raises questions. What is the unconscious mind ? Let me tell you that the concept of the unconscious is one of the fundamental assumptions of psycho-analysis and it is necessary to form a clear idea about it. I shall explain by an example. When you gaze steadily at an object at some distance in front of you, you get a clear visual impression of the object. The things lying near about that object you can just see but the impressions of these are not so clear as that of the object you are gazing at. There are other objects however. which are beyond your range of vision and fail to produce any impression. As in the physical sphere, so in the mental. The thoughts or ideas that you are occupied with just at the present moment may be compared to the object gazed at ; they are the clearest. The mental states that are no longer at the central spot of your consciousness, *e. g.*, events that you have experienced sometimes ago, it might be years, months, days, or even minutes, and which you can again recall may be thought of as lying at a region lower than the central spot level. But there are experiences of yours which in spite of your best efforts you cannot recall, just as there are things, lying beyond the range of your physical vision. These experiences may be conceived to be lying in the lowest region of the mind. The different names for these different levels of mind beginning from the first one are the Conscious, the Preconscious and the Unconscious,

respectively. Psycho-analysis maintains that the memories that you cannot revive, the experiences that you fail to recall are not lost altogether but are gone to that region called the unconscious. But it may be asked what is the necessity of using such obscure terms to express a very patent experience of normal life—the experience, *viz.*, that we forget something and remember others. It would certainly not have been necessary to use such roundabout expressions if the fact was not discovered that the life of any mental state, an idea for, *e.g.*, does not come to an end simply by the act of our forgetting it. Sometimes they continue to influence our conscious mental life as surely and subtly as the food we eat nourishes our body and maintains our life. But how do we know that? That brings us to another fundamental concept of our science.

Psycho-analysis conceives mind as being dynamic in nature and maintains that the principle of causation is applicable in the mental sphere exactly in the same way as it is employed in the physical sciences. Every event has a cause. The destructive thoughts of the murderer are as much natural events as the devastating sweep of the hurricane and the growth of love in your mind for your consort is as much an event as the blossoming of the rose in your garden. And if events cannot happen without being caused there is no justification for restricting the application of the principle to one particular type of events only. That would simply be an abuse of logic. Many have hesitated to accept the applicability of the causality principle in the mental sphere with the result that they have never been able to reconcile themselves with the psycho-analytical findings. I may mention here that this hesitation on their part is always due to considerations other than strict regard for bare scientific generalisations.

The principle of mental dynamism advocated by psycho-analysis is an old concept. Its history goes back to centuries. It has been influenced considerably by Biology. So also the concept of the unconscious is not new in the history of psychology.

In every text book of psychology belonging to the traditional school you will find a reference to or a few sentences about the existence of the sub-conscious and the unconscious. When these psychologists have experienced difficulties in the interpretation of mental phenomena on conscious terms only they have argued that mind extends beyond consciousness. That they have not very often encountered such difficulties in the way of their interpretation is explained by the fact that they have frequently omitted to consider large classes of mental phenomena which rightly belong to the domain of psychology. Both dynamic and philosophical psychology have seriously erred in failing to take proper cognisance of the existence of mental facts outside the range of consciousness and in confining their observations to the conscious plane only. What psycho-analysis has done is this: It has brought these two concepts, *viz.*, dynamism and the unconscious into relation with each other, *i.e.*, it has demonstrated how the unconscious mind works. The elaboration of this theme has been one of the main tasks of psycho-analysis.

Let us go into the question of this dynamism and the unconscious a little more deeply and enquire what justification there is to assume these principles in our investigations of the mind. It will be seen that both follow necessarily from the concept of causality. Causality implies energy in the physical science and the effect produced by the cause is simply the transformation of the energy that was in the latter. Physical science has conceived of one vast store of energy remaining constant in quantity of which all the physical phenomena that we see around us are but different manifestations. The ever-changing series of physical events that we experience is but an unceasing flow of energy from one place to another. Motion is the essence of energy; perpetual movement is therefore the law of the universe. Rest is only arrested motion. A thing in rest means that its movement or the movement of its particles has been restrained by a more powerful energy.

As in the physical so in the mental world. All our thoughts and emotions, ideas and impulses, all our psychical experiences in short, are conceived to be modes of an energy which is called mental. No one knows the nature of physical force but its assumption helps us to unravel the riddles of physical universe and enables us to predict many of its future happenings. Therefore the assumption is valid in theory and correct in practice. We do not know the nature of the mental energy. But its assumption enables us to understand the mysteries of the mind and helps us to prevent many of its possible sufferings. Therefore Theory justifies the assumption and Practice confirms it. The 'idea' that you now have, for instance, the 'desire' that you cherish are all forms of mental energy, the particular forms being determined by conditions preceding it. If the cause is not found in the conscious plane it must be assumed to be in the unconscious. In the physical world we infer, though we cannot see, that there are waves which carry the Radio talks to distant lands, that there are ultra-violet rays which are invisible, that there are undercurrents in the oceans. And we do this on the basis of the facts observed and events noted. So if a minute scrutiny of your behaviour reveals traits which express fondness for a particular person or jealousy against another, we infer that you like one person and are jealous of the other. If reasons for this jealousy are not found on the conscious level we shall still maintain the same opinion in spite of your protests and shall tell you that the grounds for your jealousy are to be sought for in your unconscious mind.

You have heard about the three fundamental concepts of psycho-analysis—dynamism, determinism and the unconscious and you have seen also how they are related to each other. The two former are the properties of all science, while the third that of the unconscious is peculiar to psycho-analysis. What then has psycho-analysis specially to say about the contents of the the unconscious? I shall tell you presently.

Man, you will agree, is a social animal. He possesses certain instincts and are guided by certain impulses which he shares in common with all the animals. By using the word social the idea sought to be conveyed and emphasised is this, that he has to subject himself to some extent to the laws and traditions, manners and customs of his fellow beings. It is not open to him to give always and anywhere full play to his animal passions and instincts. Centuries of culture and civilisation have brought about changes in the outlook of life. Progress in civilisation and development of culture are founded on the fact that the crude instincts have been more and more restrained. The demands that culture and civilisation make on man are embodied in the moral codes and legislative acts, and exemplified in the social traditions and every-day etiquettes. But all these complexities of civilisation did not develop in a day. Centuries had to elapse before the natural man agreed to be a social animal and to give up parts of his very nature in order to build up this edifice of culture. As with humanity in general so with individuals in particular. The struggle is repeated in the life history of individuals as they grow from infancy to childhood and thence through adolescence to maturity. The child is born with all the original instincts, sex, hunger, self-preservation, curiosity and others, but it is quickly trained to suppress some of these and to change the direction of others so that his manner of life and habit of thought may conform to the prevailing standard of social morality. Freud says that it is the sex instinct which is biologically the most powerful and dynamic of all the original endowments and hence it is this instinct which has suffered most in the history of the progress of humanity and is repressed most in the process of the training of the child. As psycho-analysis deals mainly with repressed wishes and tendencies it has frequently to take notice of these sex-instinctual activities. It is for this reason that Sex and Libido or Love energy occupy so large a place in the psycho-analytical literature. This produces in the minds of those not accustomed to take scientific view of facts the

false impression that psycho-analysis is only sexuology or worse still it is only a jumbling account of various sexual desires and deeds, abnormalities and misdemeanours. However let us not digress.

In spite of training and education undesirable thoughts and unsocial desires still continue to appear in every mind. As soon as they arise they are repressed, that is, sent to the unconscious. The traditions and the moral codes that have been instilled into the child's mind act as a guard against the entry into the conscious field of any such unmoral desire. This guard has been most appropriately called by Freud, the Censor. But the desires repressed by the censor continue their attempts to gain the conscious field and adopt various subterfuges to avoid the vigilance of the censor. They distort themselves, condense themselves, transform themselves and there are various other tricks by which they reach their aim. Normally the method of work of the censor is so efficient that you are never conscious of the unsocial desires that dwell in your mind, and a balance is maintained between the proper and social desires of the conscious level and the repressed social desires of the unconscious. When this equilibrium however is for any reason disturbed, the disturbance at once manifests itself in abnormalities of behaviour which might range from slight eccentricities of conduct to severe forms of mental disorders. The symptoms of many mental diseases are but symbolic gratifications of unfulfilled desires or are devices to prevent the desires to appear in consciousness in their naked forms. A mania for physical cleanliness may be only an attempt to purge the mind of a sense of guilt. Lady Macbeth is afraid that all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten her little hands. Over-anxiety for the health of any loved person may be only a method of defence against the appearance of the unconscious death wish. And so on. In this way psycho-analysis has shown that patients suffering from mental diseases are not possessed by ghosts, neither can they be cured by kicks and blows. By analysis discover the root of the disease and you will see that the patient at once cures himself.

But it is not only in the case of the mentally afflicted that psycho-analytical principles are demonstrated. Our normal every-day behaviour supplies abundant evidence for the verification of the doctrines. Dreams are normal mental phenomena. You have laughed over the absurdities of your dreams or have taken them as the portents of the future. But they are neither absurd nor is it their business to foretell coming events. They also are the gratifications of desires, fulfilments of wishes. The manifest dreams or the dreams as you see them are absurd but the fact is that most of the elements of the dreams are symbols. When the symbols are properly interpreted you get the latent content of the dreams which is not absurd at all but is a consistent and connected account of what your unconscious mind wants.

You forget to post letters, to keep appointments, you erroneously substitute one word for another, one name for another in your conversation. All these and many other such incidents of your daily life are significant though they may pass unnoticed as accidental errors or slips of the tongue. Analysis reveals in every case the cause of the oblivion.

When an antisocial desire is thwarted by the censor it may sublimate itself. By sublimation is meant that the wish energy connected with the antisocial desire is utilised in a useful social activity. Here psycho-analysis has given a new task to the future educationist. It is useless talking about the depravity of this or that child and it is worse than useless to trot out moral principles to keep children safe from vice. Sex desires and curiosity are natural in children. The task of education lies not in repressing them but in properly sublimating their various elements. Freud has given us a detailed study of the sex instinct; he has shown how from infancy the instinct passes through various stages and finally emerges as the normal hetero-sexual love, *i.e.*, love for a person of the opposite sex. It is the duty of those entrusted with the task of educating children to pay sufficient attention to this aspect of the child's development

and to guide it in proper channel. For it has been invariably found that one root at least of every mental disease lies in the disturbance of development at this period of life.

Well, my friends, you do not expect of course that in an half hour's time you will hear all that there is to be said regarding psycho-analysis. I have to-day only introduced the subject to you. If you feel interested, I may tell you that there are opportunities here that you can take full advantage of and thus acquire closer acquaintance with the subject-matter. All that I would request you to do is not to accept unhesitatingly everything that is said regarding psycho-analysis nor to condemn psycho-analysis without any effort to grasp fully in a thoroughly scientific spirit the finding that it lays before you. And with this request I now bid you good-bye.

SUHRITCHANDRA MITRA

GROWTH OF PUBLIC DEBT

The principal causes which lead to public debt are generally stated to be, (1) temporary financial deficit in the ordinary course of national finance, (2) occasional emergent expenditure such as wars, etc., and (3) construction of public works. Above all there is another particular cause which is generally overlooked. To my mind it is a very potent one, and seems to be a very stubborn factor to increase public debt. This fourth cause is the debt itself.

Once a particular amount of public debt comes into existence by any of the first three causes, it bears a charge. This charge encroaches upon the shares of the money income of the national government. If the income be made to increase by fresh taxation, or if other branches of national expenditure be economised, well and good. This fourth cause does not operate. But in practice it sometimes happens that in the immediate future there is a certain limit, however progressive a country may be, up to which fresh taxation can be pushed up without provoking censure and opposition from the public, and also there is a certain minimum beyond which expenditure cannot be pushed down with due justice to good administration. In such circumstances the result is fresh addition to debt for the ordinary deficit caused by fresh addition of interest charge without any other ostensible cause. Any addition to the capital of a debt for a deficit caused by the interest on the previous debt, means that the interest charges or portions of them are being capitalised and the nation is paying compound interest—all being effected in a roundabout way. In other words, unless particular measures

are undertaken to expunge the capital of public debt, it has a general tendency to increase roughly in an accelerating rate, or, to put in mathematical term without mathematical exactitude, in a geometric progression. So do the charges upon it. Hence the progress of public debt with its interest is sometimes a movement in a vicious circle upon a parabolic path.

These statements can be mathematically explained as follows with certain simple theoretical examples, without introducing practical complexities :

Suppose in a country the money income of the government is constant throughout, say, 100 million pounds. Suppose its expenditure had always been, until one particular year, such as to be within its income or to be exactly equal to the income. In one year on account of certain cause this expenditure increases by £10,000. Hence, for this amount a debt has to be incurred, say, at 5 per cent. In the second year, considering that that particular cause for higher expenditure is no longer in operation, the expenditure outweighs the income by £500. Hence, in this year the capital of the public debt increases to £10,500. In the third year the excess of expenditure over the income is £525, and the amount of public debt £11,025. In this way even without any other cause of higher expenditure, the public debt will automatically proceed forward.

The geometrical representation of this growth of the capital of public debt will be as follows :

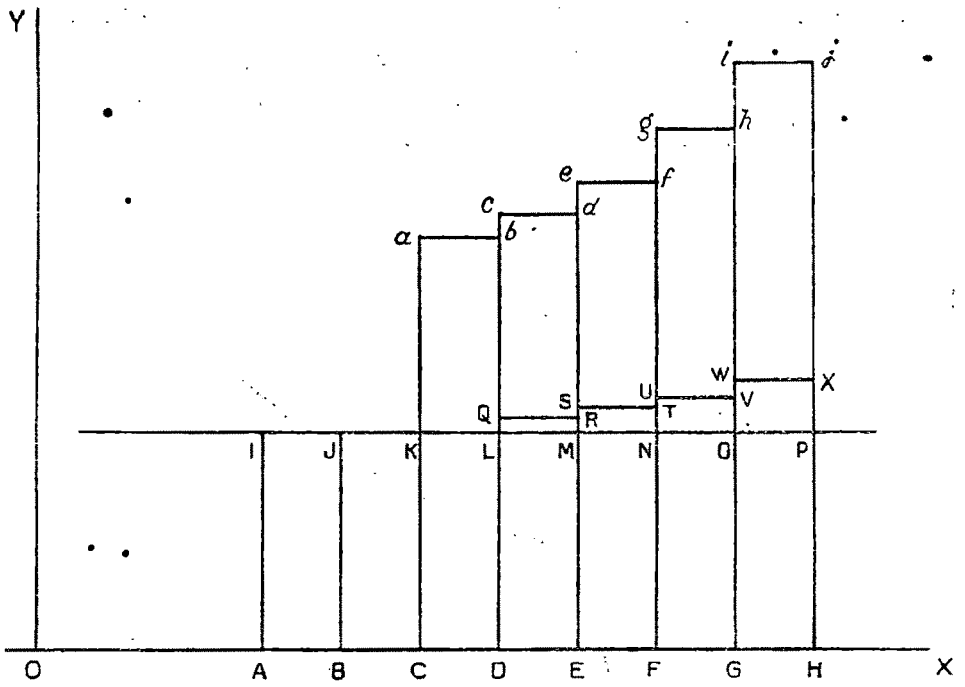


FIG. 1.

In the above geometrical representation, during the years AB, BC, both the income and expenditure are represented by the rectangles IB and JC. But during the year CD, while the income is represented by KD the expenditure is represented by aD, so that aL represents the public debt of that year. In the next year, DF, the interest on this amount of public deb is represented by QM, *i.e.*, 5 per cent. of aL. As in this year there is no other cause of high expenditure, the total expenditure of the year is represented by QE. QM is added to the capital of the previous year's debt, considering no increase of income. Hence, this year's debt is represented by cM. Continuing the argument in this way, during the years EF, FG, GH, the expenditures are represented by SF, UG, WH, respectively; interests are represented by SN, UO, WP, respectively; and public debts are represented by eN, gO, iP, respectively.

In the above theoretical representation, it may be stated that the capital of the debt for the last year is due to the debt at

the beginning—the revenue, and expenditure-other-than-interest being allowed to stand where they were originally.

The above geometrical representation can be drawn by a freehand curve in the following way :

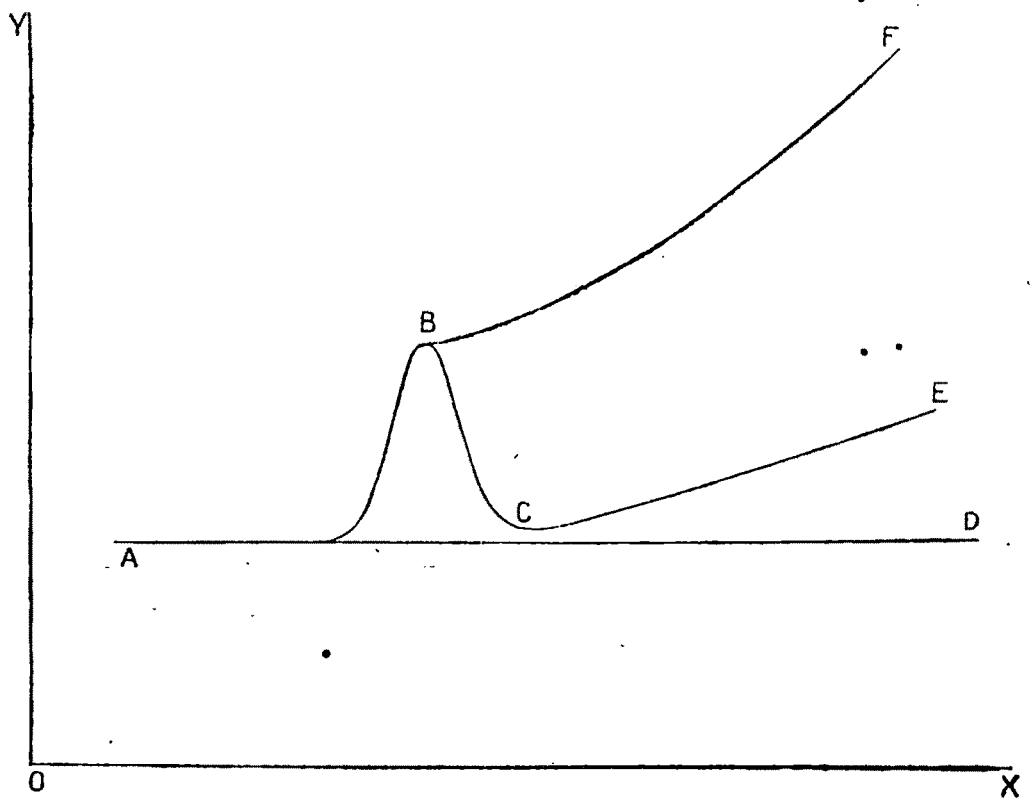


FIG. 2.

In the above graphical representation the income curve AD α M, where M is constant and is equal to the distance between OX and AD; AD is parallel to OX. If AD be taken as an abscissa, the public debt curve BF α (N—M) $\left(1+\frac{r}{100}\right)^{n-1}$, where N is the distance between B and OX, r is the percentage of interest, n is the number of years, *after* the debt has once been

incurred. With reference to the same abscissa as above, the interest curve CE $\alpha \frac{r}{100}\left(N - M\right)\left(1+\frac{r}{100}\right)^{n-2}$. With reference to the abscissa OX, the expenditure curve CE $\alpha \frac{r}{100}\left(N - M\right) \times\left(1+\frac{r}{100}\right)^{n-2} + M$

The same curve can be represented as follows, when the money income is not constant but increases, though it remains below the total expenditure :

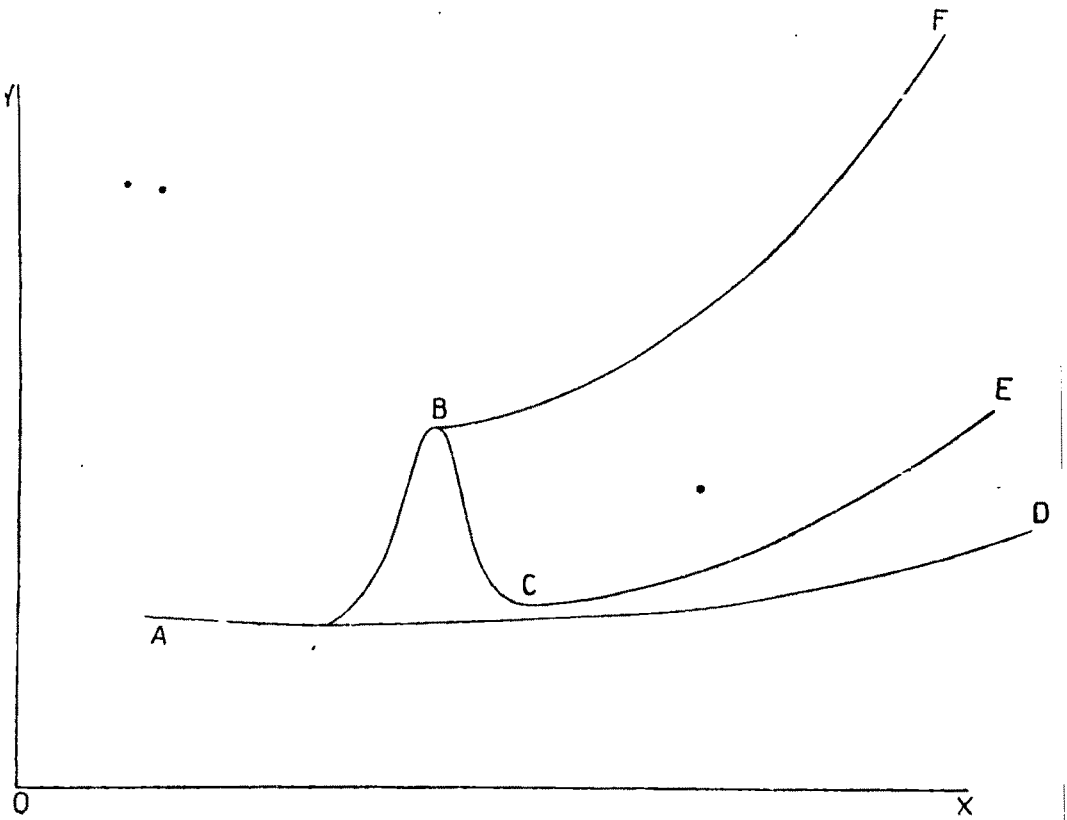


FIG. 3.

Like most curves in a theoretical treatment of economic principles, these curves under consideration show the tendency of their progress under the conditions enunciated provided no other factors intervene.

On the whole the fact remains, whenever there is an item of charge for interest on account of national expenditure, and including this head, whenever there is a deficit in the balance of national finance, and hence, whenever the nation borrows afresh to meet this deficit, the interest is being capitalised in a roundabout process and the national debt increases out of itself.

Ignorance of this accelerating tendency of the capital of the public debt under the conditions already mentioned, led in the past to a serious mistake by Dr. Richard Price in his theories of sinking fund, propounded during the seventies and eighties of the eighteenth century. The gist of the principles underlying his theories was that contributions, even out of borrowing when there is a deficit in national finance, to a permanent commission, of certain periodical sums of money to be invested in the purchase of the securities, by repetition of the investment of capital as well as its income, would thus enable any amount of debt to be paid off, unaided, by the very law of compound interest which multiplies the capital at a geometric ratio. This dream of eliminating the burden of a vast debt by the accumulated income of a sinking fund, practically out of itself, deluded the financial world. Pitt inculcated these principles in his sinking fund of 1786 (26 Geo. III, cap. 31). America copied them in her first sinking fund (1790).

It is not necessary here to explain elaborately, and repeat, these theories of Dr. Price, and the caustic criticisms to which they were subjected. It was Dr. Robert Hamilton, the Scotch mathematician, who dissipated this delusion. He showed from actual investigation into the history of the English sinking fund as instituted according to the theories of Dr. Price, that the fund, instead of reducing national debt, had actually increased it. He demonstrated that the actual national surplus is the only means to be employed for the redemption of public debt. Where was the loop-hole of Dr. Price's theories and what was the truth behind the analytical exposition of Dr. Hamilton?

Blinded by the glaze of a fund accumulating at compound interest, Dr. Price, the exponent of his sinking fund theories,

failed to enquire deep into the problem as to wherefrom can come the contribution. He was perhaps under the impression that the national debt increases under all conditions in an arithmetic progression, so that it is within easy bounds of a fund accumulating in geometric progression to outstrip it. He, therefore, advocated that even in times of war—in years of deficit, regular contributions to the sinking fund should be maintained by borrowing at any rate of interest and thus add to the national debt on the other side of the national account. Had Dr. Price been conscious of the facts and principles we have just elaborated, he might have at once grasped where did the fallacy lie. We have shown that the tendency of the national debt at times of deficits is also to increase at a geometric ratio, so that the idea of the possibility of the progression of a fund to outstrip the progress of national debt is valid when the investment of the fund brings interest at a greater percentage than that allowed on borrowings on account of the debt. When the investments of the sinking fund continue in the securities of the Government itself, while the borrowings required for contribution to it are at a rate lower than allowed on the previous securities, the final effect is a conversion of the national debt to a lower interest in a roundabout process without bringing any benefits which were claimed by the sinking fund theorists. If on the other hand, the new borrowings made for the sinking fund require a higher rate of interest to be paid than that on the debt going to be redeemed, there is a positive enhancement to the burden of public debt—the very reverse of its being redeemed.

Even Dr. Hamilton, who, it is true, showed by actual calculation of budgetary figures that Dr. Price's sinking fund theories failed in their purpose, and who also emphasised the necessity of a surplus to wipe off public debt, did not clearly state the truth behind. It is nothing but what we have already set forth.

And it is on account of overlooking this tendency of the growth of public debt, that some of the old delusions of Dr. Price's

theories of sinking fund accumulating at compound interest as very efficacious in expunging public debt unaided by other forces, exist even to this day in an altered form. For example, in the contribution to Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy* (1926), the following paragraph occurs under "SinkingFund :"

"The claim made by Dr. Price for the old sinking fund, that it was accumulating at compound interest and paying off debts by its own unaided force, was theoretically accurate; if the fund had been invested outside the country and the interest received had been also so invested each year—each annual sum would have been bearing compound interest. The claim however was, in the particular instance, based on a fallacy, because the annual contributions were invested in the purchase of the debt which they were intended to pay off ; therefore the dividend received on the contributions were in effect payments on a dead debt and in themselves unnecessary—in other words increased contributions from the tax-payer under the guise of dividends."

Put in other language, Sir C. A. Harris, the author of this article, tries to stress that if the investments of a sinking fund be outside the country instead of in the securities of the Government whose debt is meant to be discharged by the sinking fund, then the fund will increase at compound interest unaided, and be able to pay off the whole capital of the national debt in time. Here we must maintain that such contentions are no less fallacious. They are due to the ignorance of the law we have elaborated previously—that a national debt has a tendency to accumulate at a compound interest; so that in a race between two such accumulations, the greater advance of one over the other depends upon the difference of the rates of interest and not upon the locality of the two. It makes no difference in accumulation whether the investment is outside or inside. Even if the national debt have no tendency to accumulate due to surplus, our statement holds good. It can be shown mathematically as follows : and to clear up our statement further, we take one instance in addition, making three examples altogether.

Suppose in a country, the national debt on the 1st of January, 1921, is £20,000 which bears interest at 10 per cent. per annum. Suppose its income in all the subsequent years is £10,000; and its expenditure, excluding the charges for interest, is similarly constant throughout, say, £7,000 :

Example I.—If there be no sinking fund, and the debt be discharged out of surplus at the end of each year.

Years.	Total income during each year.	Total expenditure other than interst during each year.	Amount of interest paid on national debt, @ 10% during each year.	Surplus, utilised to pay up the national debt.	Amount of national debt on 1st of each year.
	£	£	£	£	£
1921	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20 000
1922	10,000	7,000	1,900	1.100	19.000
1923	10,000	7,000	1,790	1,210	17,900
1924	10,000	7,000	1,669	1,331	16.690
1925	10,000	7,000	1,535·9	1,464·1	15 359

National debt at the end of the year 1925—£13,894·9

Example II.—If there be a sinking fund, and it be invested in the Government's own securities, necessarily at 10 per cent.

Years.	Total income during each year.	Total expenditure other than interest, during each year.	Interest paid each year at 10%.*	Surplus†	Amount of debt on the 1st of each year.	Sinking fund on the 1st of each year.‡
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1921	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	..
1922	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	1,000
1923	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	2,100
1924	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	3,310
1925	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	4,641

At the end of 1925, Sinking fund—£6,105 1
National debt—£13,894·9

* A portion of this amount is received by the sinking fund and the rest by public creditors.

† This amount goes to the sinking fund at the end of each year.

‡ Fed by surplus and interest of its investment made inside the country.

Example III.—If there be a sinking fund and it be invested outside the country at 10 per cent.

Years.	Total income during each year.	Total expenditure other than interest,, during each year.	Interest paid each year at 10%.*	Surplus.†	Amount of debt on the 1st of each year.	Sinking fund on the 1st of each year.‡
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1921	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	...
1922	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	1,000
1923	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	2,100
1924	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	3,310
1925	10,000	7,000	2,000	1,000	20,000	4,641

At the end of 1925, Sinking fund—£6,105·1
National debt—£13,894·9

* The whole of this amount goes to public creditors, and no portion to the sinking fund.
† This amount goes to the sinking fund at the end of the year.
‡ Fed by surplus and interest of its investments made outside the country.

From the second and third examples it is evident that the difference between investment outside and inside the country is equally illusory. The only difference that exists is not in the accumulation of the sinking fund, but in the difference in the flow and transfer of funds and in the economic distribution of the national wealth of the country. In the second example, when the investment of the sinking fund is in the securities of its own government, the amount of interest on the securities in the hands of the commissioners is collected from the taxpayers. The nation has to collect from the taxpayers an equal amount every year to pay the interest on its debt. But it pays a portion of the amount collected for this purpose to some of the creditors direct and another portion to the sinking fund on account of the securities that it holds. This latter portion ultimately goes to other

public creditors—indirectly through the sinking fund. In the third example, where the investment of the sinking fund is outside the country, the nation has similarly to collect the same amount of interest as before from the taxpayers, and it pays the whole amount to all public creditors. On the other hand the commissioners earn each year a certain amount for their investment outside, so that there is a flow of money from outside into the country. These accumulated amounts are ultimately distributed in the hands of the creditors when the sinking fund is mobilised. Thus in the former case the total national income remains the same, and in the latter it is increased, for the time being.

Apart from the errors which sinking funds were subjected to in the past and the errors that they are liable to run into, due to the ignorance of the principles we have just analysed, they have much greater value in actual financial practice. If prompt steps be not undertaken to cover up the charges for interest on any amount of debt incurred and, hence, interest is allowed to be capitalised, the financial future of any national government is doomed in the long run. The foregoing remarks apply, it is unnecessary to repeat, to unproductive deadweight debts. Productive debts are, however, like investment of commercial capital, which generally returns back what they are burdened with.

Before we finish, something more remains to be said in this connection. Not only does the failure to meet interest charges add to the capital of debt at an accelerating rate, but also it is a fact that failure to discharge the capital itself within any equitable period has accelerated the growth of public debt in a similar manner. When we look to the history of public debt in various countries, it can be observed that most of their governments, particularly of Europe, have accumulated their unproductive public debt on account of wars. After the debt had once been incurred, either sufficient measures were not undertaken to pay off the capital as early as possible, or before the old burden could be considerably reduced new wars came in succession to

add to the existing debt and to place additional burden on the revenue. Signs are not yet promising amongst the nations themselves in their relations with one another to give grounds for optimism, that in future there will be no more of any expensive conflict. If wars follow in succession, as they have hitherto followed, the future of national finance is associated with grave danger. Already the burden of public debt has been considerably menacing. It may so happen in future that public debt, like a demon, will swallow up the whole of national revenue. And this will be more and more rapid, the greater the failure revenue to keep head over expenditure.

Hence with almost every borrowing and every addition of deadweight public debt, measures should simultaneously be devised to pay up the interest as well as the capital, whatever they may cost to the nation. Read in this light, annuity loans, in spite of the arguments advanced in their disfavour, are better than other classes of borrowing—if not for anything else, at least in so far as the loans on annuities provide unavoidably firm determination to discharge public debt in a strictly regular manner, as life insurance by a person implies self-imposed compulsory saving.

P. R. DATTA

EMPIRE FREE TRADE

The question of tariffs is now looming large in world politics. The League of Nations has taken it up and is making earnest attempts to reduce and simplify tariffs. The present world-wide economic depression is, to no small extent, the direct outcome of selfish and misguided tariff policies followed by different nations. The British National Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce mentions " the post-war policy of high customs tariffs " as one of the main causes of the upsetting of economic and financial equilibrium. Imminent changes in the tariff policy of Great Britain are foreshadowed by the recent appointment of Mr. Neville Chamberlain to the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer in the National Government. " He has identified himself closely with the movement for tariff reform and imperial preference of which his father Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was a famous advocate." A change of tariff policy by Great Britain is likely to have important repercussions on India. At such a juncture it is hardly necessary for the writer to apologise for examining at some length a particular phase of the tariff policy which has been given much prominence in England of late years.

The essential ideas underlying the policy of Empire Free Trade have persisted in one form or another since the very foundations of the British Empire. In the days when the colonies were regarded as plantations to be exploited for the benefit of the mother country, the germs of the policy can be discerned in the preferences, in some form or other, given to the products of the home country in the colonies and of the colonies in the home country. This policy was however at its weakest for about a quarter of a century beginning from about the middle of

the last century when, at least in its practical side, the policy of "*laissez faire*" and "open-door" was maintained by Great Britain wherever possible. The colonies had come to be regarded in a strangely fatalistic way, as fruits which would drop off from the parent tree as soon as they were ripe enough. In the eighties however a change in policy manifested itself, and colonies came to be looked upon as undeveloped estates to be worked for the joint benefit of the mother country and the colonies. Fiscal autonomy had been conceded to the Dominions and opinion was gaining ground that the Empire should be regarded as a fiscal unit whose common interests should be promoted against those of foreigners with the help of proper fiscal devices. This veering round of free-trade England was due to many causes, among which may be mentioned the growth of powerful rival empires like Germany, U. S. A. and Russia; the realisation of the fact that Great Britain had come to depend for her very existence on food and raw materials imported from outside and that the industrial supremacy which she had enjoyed for about a century was, if not actually passing away from her grasp, at least more and more shared with other nations. Mr. Lewin observes "the first serious blow at the manufacturing supremacy of Great Britain came from those continental nations, particularly Germany, who by subsidising steamships, using state railways as effective economic tools, by increasing their tariffs and by many direct and indirect methods of state intervention and encouragement were building up and protecting their own industries and gradually penetrating into markets which hitherto had been regarded as peculiarly British monopolies." Perhaps we may add to the list of causes already given, the change in thought and outlook that was coming over in England as regards the proper functions of the state, as is evidenced by the enormous output of social legislation in the last quarter of the 19th century. The last European War (1914-18), by intensifying race-hatred and aggravating the sentiment of economic nationalism contributed its share in effecting this change..

The imperial preference of Joseph Chamberlain is but a more honest statement of the principles underlying the Empire Free Trade of Lord Beaverbrook. The idea of economic self-sufficiency lies at the root of the policy advocated by these two Imperialists." The same idea was voiced by the Imperial War Conference (London, 1917) which laid down that " the time has arrived when all possible encouragement should be given to the development of Imperial resources and especially to making the Empire independent of other countries in respect of food supplies, raw materials and essential industries." At first sight it must be admitted that the idea, whether practicable or not, is an attractive one. The British Empire is the largest the world has ever known, comprising roughly a quarter of the land surface of the globe and including one-fourth of its entire population. It includes every shade of climate and soil, vast and varied natural resources, a plentiful supply of capital within the Empire, a very powerful merchant marine, more than sufficient for its own needs and a strong racial and cultural affinity among its most important constituents. Even now the Empire grows all the food she requires; and in any case her food resources can (if necessary) be increased much further by a judicious policy of development. Lord Beaverbrook calculates that only 10 p.c. of the land surface of the British Empire is under cultivation as compared with 50 p.c. of the land surface in U. S. A. " The basis of Empire Crusade is that the Empire can supply itself with food." The resources of raw materials are also enormous, it grows 99 p.c. of the world production of jute, 88 p.c. of nickel, 71 p.c. of gold, 58 p.c. of rubber, 52 per cent. of rice, 44 per cent. of wool, 43 per cent. of tin and 22 per cent. of wheat.

Even if the ideal of self-sufficiency involves some sacrifice of material welfare, it might yet be justified, in view of the periodic outbreak of national insanity commonly known as War, on the old ground of security being better than opulence. The last European War drew attention to " the dependence of the nervous centre of the British Empire upon overseas sources of

supply and the possibility of rendering the British Empire self and mutually supporting in the economic sphere." Some enthusiasts would even brush hastily aside the objection that the formation of an Imperial Customs Union would impair the fiscal and political autonomy of the self-governing Dominions, on the ground that the destruction of such local autonomy may be justifiable in the interests of a more efficient organisation of the Empire. Dominions have, however, already shown their willingness to favour such a scheme by the preference they have given to Empire products in their tariffs and this preference has, since the War, become, if anything, more pronounced. Canada was the first to take the step of granting preference to the mother country in 1897, New Zealand and South Africa followed in 1903 and Australia in 1908. Even India has fallen in line since the outbreak of the last War by preferences given to Empire goods. She granted a rebate on export duties on hides and skins destined for Empire countries, imposed differential import duties on iron and steel goods and has quite recently accorded the same favourable treatment to cotton manufactures. Many of the Crown Colonies also (Cyprus, Jamaica, Malta, etc.) have granted preference (rebate on export duties) to Empire countries. It is Great Britain that has shown little enthusiasm, but even she has, since the Finance Act of 1919, given preferential rates on articles like sugar, tea, tobacco and wine grown within the British Empire. Mr. C. R. Fay speaking of the tariff system of the United Kingdom says, "although there has been no overt breach in the fiscal system of the country and although on the two occasions, when tariff was the main issue, 1906 and 1923, protection was decisively rejected, yet since 1906 there has been a growing sentiment for Imperial Preference and since 1918 a considerable departure from free-trade." All this sounds very encouraging indeed !

But there is another side of the picture. Apart from what may happen in the distant future, which is not of much practical importance for us, it is pertinent to ask whether the ideal is

attainable within a measurable time. Let statistics speak for us. In 1926 the amount of wheat (grain and flour) imported into United Kingdom from foreign countries was 54 million cwts. as against 57 million, imported from within the British Empire. For barley the figures were 9·7 million cwts. and 1·8 million cwts.; oats 5·1 million cwts. and 2·4 million cwts.; raw cotton 16 million units (centals of 100 lbs.) and 1·9 million units; wool 1·2 million centals and 6·9 million centals. Of the total quantity of meat (fresh, tinned, salted, chilled and frozen) imported into U. K. before and during the War, 75 per cent. came from foreign countries and 25 per cent. from within the B. E.; only 3 per cent. of the tobacco comes from Empire countries, only 3 per cent. of unbleached wood pulp for paper making and 5 per cent. (and this has shown a remarkable tendency to fall off) of petroleum, while flax is practically a monopoly of foreign countries (only 3 per cent. of the world production being grown within the Empire); motor cars, etc., imported into U. K. in 1921-22 from Empire countries formed less than 17 per cent. of the total. 75 per cent. of the total imports of merchandise into U. K. in 1910 came from foreign countries and this, in spite of preferences introduced into the tariff system of the U. K. in 1919 and the increasing investment of British capital in the colonies, had fallen only to 70 per cent. in 1924.

Let us turn to the trade of the self-governing Dominions. Canada, as we have seen, was the first country to introduce preference on Empire goods in her tariff in 1897; and this preference has been, as in the case of other Dominions and the mother country, materially extended and increased since the War. Yet what has been the effect of this on Canadian trade? In 1896 the proportions of Canada's imports from and exports to Empire countries were 33·3 per cent. and 60·8 per cent. respectively of her total imports and exports; in 1928 the percentages had shrunk to 22·5 and 40·7. In the case of Australia of the total value of competitive goods imported U.K. supplied 50·32 per cent. during 1926-7 as against 58·38 per cent. in 1913-14. South Africa

reveals the fact that by 1927 her imports from Empire countries had increased in value by about 60 per cent. over the average for the period 1910-14, while foreign imports had increased in the same period by about 160 per cent.; her exports to Empire and non-Empire countries had increased by 16 per cent. and 600 per cent. respectively, Turning to New Zealand we find that in the eighties and nineties of the last century 70 per cent. of her imports came from U. K., while in the decade preceding the War they had fallen to 60 per cent., and had shrunk to 48 per cent. in 1927. In the pre-War years 1909-13 U.K.'s share in the total exports of New Zealand was 80·44 per cent., in 1927 it was 76 per cent. It must however be borne in mind that U.K. after 1921 did not include Irish Free State as it did up to this year. Finally taking U. K. on the one side and the rest of the Empire on the other, we find that U.K.'s share in the external trade of the Empire has progressed in the following proportions :

Year.	Percentage of total exports consigned to U. K. from the Empire.	Percentage of imports received by Empire from U. K.
1895	49%	52%
1913	41%	42%
1923	36%	38%

India's trade statistics reveal the same tale. Her imports from the Empire formed 69·7 and 54·9 per cent. of her total imports in 1913-14 and 1926-27 respectively while her exports to the Empire were 41·1 per cent. and 38·5 per cent. in the two periods.

Statistics are however often deceptive and particularly difficult to handle. Yet the conclusion that forces itself from a study of the figures given above is that we are moving in a direction opposite to Empire self-sufficiency inspite of encouragements held out in the form of Imperial preference. In fact one writer (Lewin) holds "that although the British Empire may be

self-supporting, it can never become a self-contained, *i.e.*, exclusive, commercial and economic unity." The Dominion Royal Commission however expressed their doubts as to the Empire ever becoming even self-supporting, on the ground that there are things, essential for the welfare of the Empire, which are mainly produced and controlled outside the Empire such as cotton, petroleum, nitrates and potash. In fact the whole trend of economic progress has been in the direction of greater mutual interdependence between nations as between individuals.

It may however be argued that the advocates of Empire Free Trade do not aim at making the Empire self-sufficient, but their aim is to knit together more closely the different parts of the Empire by removing all restrictions to the free movement of goods between the different parts of it. This object was aimed and achieved by the establishment of the Zollverein among the Germanic States in 1833. The political unity of the British Empire may be utilised to achieve economic unity by raising a protective wall against the impact of foreign goods, thereby encouraging infant and essential industries of the Empire. Indeed the object is not to shut out all foreign goods but only such goods as, in view of the possibility of periodic outbreak of wars, every nation must produce within its own borders if it is to maintain its independent existence. The entry of other goods may be prevented with a view to encouraging infant industries, or because they are the products of sweated foreign labour and may thus produce undesirable effects on home industries. Outside this class of goods foreign trade may be allowed to continue unhampered. In fact this is the object supposed to be kept in view by most of the protectionist countries of the world in framing their customs tariff. What have we got to say to such an ideal ?

Firstly about the possibility of wars, it may be pointed out that the British Empire, essentially a conglomeration of territories scattered throughout the world, differs fundamentally from compact territorial units like Germany, France or even

the United States of America. England is very much nearer to France or Germany than to Canada, Australia or India; Canada is very much nearer to U. S. A. than to England. In the event of war, unless the whole world combines against the British Empire, it would be much easier for the United Kingdom to import munitions of war and other essential supplies (international conventions relating to the freedom of the seas permitting it) from some neutral country like France, Russia or U. S. A. than from Australia or India. In fact this danger was brought home in German blockade (though ultimately unsuccessful) of England during the last war. An island country such as England cannot avoid this danger by making the Empire self-supporting. On the contrary a policy of tariff-discrimination is likely to create a good deal of international complications, bad blood, tariff-warfare and mutual suspicion (*cf.*, revocation of most favoured nation clause in commercial treaties, Russian protest against the imposition by India of countervailing duty on bounty-fed sugar, the Canadian German tariff war in the first decade of the present century). In fact it will prepare the ground for the very eventuality against which it is advanced as a safeguard. Though a Royal Commission found " it may now be regarded as a settled principle that trade arrangements between parts of the British Empire are to be considered matters of a domestic character which cannot be regarded as discriminatory by any foreign power," yet we should not lose sight of the fact that the force of such an argument depends, however, on the willingness of other powers to accept it ; on the ability to enforce that point of view in case it is actively resisted. If the foreign power is weak, in the special circumstances of the case, the argument will be accepted : if it is strong, there may be no difficulty in getting a tacit acceptance of the argument, accompanied by the offer of a smaller concession than would otherwise have been the case " (Gregory—*Tariffs, A Study in Method*). England with about $\frac{3}{4}$ of her imports coming from foreign countries and more

than half her exports going to non-Empire countries and with unemployment on a colossal scale staring her in the face, can ill afford to engage in tariff-discrimination. A much better and more desirable object would be to prevent altogether the recurrence of war by promoting international amity and understanding and supporting whole-heartedly the efforts of the League of Nations in this direction. If free and unhampered movement of goods within the frontiers of a state is a sure way of promoting economic welfare, it is difficult to see why it should not be so when it leads to the breakdown of the artificial barriers raised against the free movement of goods between nations. If infant industries cannot grow up without some amount of outside encourgement, it must be pointed out that there are other and more direct ways of giving such aid than the questionable one of tariff protection. With the rapid development of the means of communication and transportation, the world is being fast knit into a closer unity and all restrictions are proving more and more burdensome and intolerable. If an increasing population has to be maintained at a rising level of comfort we ought surely to move in the direction of free and unrestricted commerce throughout the world.

Secondly, apart from the desirability of the aim to be kept in view we have to discuss the practicability of a scheme of Empire Free Trade. Absolute free trade, however much desirable, seems at present absolutely unattainable. Even Lord Beaverbrook admits this when he states his Empire crusade as follows :—

"The Empire is to be regarded as a single economic group and trade between the various parts, subject to the qualifications made above, is to suffer no restriction."

The qualifications spoken of above are chiefly two : (1) no part of the Empire shall benefit at the expense of the other part and for this reason a measure of protection for certain industries is absolutely essential, even against imports from other parts of the

Empire and (2) duties levied for revenue purposes in many parts of the Empire should not be repealed ; on the contrary, the security of the revenue must be maintained and still higher duties imposed against foreign imports. The first qualification introduced materially modifies the policy of Empire Free Trade ; in fact the title of Lord Beaverbrook's policy becomes a misnomer. This was noticed as early as 1903 by Chamberlain who "realised that the better way was not a free trade Empire with an external tariff but an economic federalism with tariff autonomy for the several parts and preferential arrangements between all." In fact Lord Beaverbrook, though he makes an effort to prove that his proposals "are in no sense the same as the project put forward by Joseph Chamberlain at the beginning of the Century," can only be regarded as having reopened the issue popularised by Chamberlain. Protectionist sentiment is too strong in the Dominions to make absolute free trade a matter of practical politics. In fact since the grant of fiscal autonomy, self-governing Dominions, one after another, did not hesitate to impose protective duties on goods of the mother country. Speaking of Empire Free Trade one writer (Mr. Campbell) remarks, "the Dominions (under such a scheme) will mainly remain suppliers of raw materials while Britain will function as mainly a manufacturing country." But surely the Dominions will not be content to remain permanently in the category envisaged by Mr. Campbell and even Lord Beaverbrook is constrained to admit that "any talk of making Great Britain the sole workshop of the Empire is dangerous folly." This remark of Lord Beaverbrook, an inhabitant of Canada, the second most important manufacturing country in the British Empire, speaks volumes. Mr. Donaldson, in his book, *International Economic Relations*, says "such policies (Imperial Preference, etc.) are largely those of industrialised countries towards many of the important non-industrialised regions." Even India, which presents special difficulties in this connection, would not be a party to an agreement which would make her simply a supplier of raw materials to the workshops of

the world. Donaldson, whom we have just quoted, remarks "there are some evidences of a realisation by Great Britain that the beginning of industrialisation in India cannot well be suppressed and had best be encouraged and guided." In fact India and the Dominions are so much wedded to the protectionist idea that they would rather separate from the Empire than submit to a policy of absolute free trade within the Empire. Surely United kingdom would not care, even if it had any prospect of success in the attempt, to impose such a policy against the wishes of her politically subordinate possessions. In fact the overtures have so far come from the side of the Dominions themselves.

Thirdly, let us examine the claim that the adoption of an Imperial Protective Tariff would keep out the products of sweated labour of inferior nations with a low standard of living and thereby ensure "a full protection for hours, wages and prices throughout the whole Empire (Beaverbrook). Our reply is, firstly, that it is a debatable question how far the standard of living in a country can be kept up by a policy of protection. Secondly, the danger from sweated labour and low standard of living is not entirely confined to areas outside the Empire. The case of India at once comes to our mind. How is the Empire going to defend itself against this danger lurking in her own home without giving up free trade? Should India be entirely left out from such a scheme? Possibly so. She has never whole-heartedly supported any scheme of Imperial Preference, and there are plausible grounds for her attitude, though based on a different set of facts. Empire Free Trade cannot be kept entirely separate from the question of free mobility of labour within the Empire. If Indians are not accorded equality of status in the Dominions within the Empire, she cannot be blamed if she refuses to accord preferential treatment to Empire goods. The majority report of the Indian Fiscal Commission did not countenance any general system of Imperial Preference; while the minority report frankly said "we cannot agree to any trade

agreements being entered into with any dominion which discriminate against the people of this country." But is it worthwhile leaving out India entirely from such a scheme? Mr. Campbell answers "if India be excluded the impressive calculations of the vast resources awaiting the British Imperial Zollverein must be revised out of all recognition."

We have seen that of the two principles involved in the policy of Empire Free Trade, *viz.*, free movement of goods within the Empire and the imposition of an Imperial tariff on goods coming from foreign countries, the second one has been adopted already by India and the Dominions; but they also stand equally committed to a policy of protection against Empire goods, if these goods compete with the products of their own industries. United Kingdom, on the other hand, has long been and still continues to be mainly a free trade country in its relations with Empire and non-Empire countries. She can possibly, without much effort, be again persuaded to adopt perfect free trade within the Empire. The safeguarding duties, under which the Empire goods already receive preference, may possibly be abandoned altogether. But can she be persuaded to adopt a policy of protection in her trade relations with foreign countries? It is difficult to pronounce any opinion on the subject particularly in view of the recent General Election which returned a Tory majority. To what extent the voters were frightened into voting Conservative, faced with the National Currency Crisis (the Tory plan being to restore balance of trade by taxing imports and thereby stopping the drain of gold from England), to what they gave a considered verdict in favour of protection as a permanent policy, it is difficult to say. It may be pointed out, however, that at least on two occasions the question of protection was definitely negatived by the British electorate. How will the policy of protection affect U.K.? It is hard to agree with Lord Beaverbrook when he says that it will not raise the price of imported food materials, more than half of which she imports from abroad. If it does not raise

the price it will fail to give any stimulus to Empire production which is its only justification. Acquaintance with elementary economic laws will convince one that it will raise not only the price of foreign food stuffs but also of Empire food. In fact protection to British agriculture is being urged at present by eminent British farmers as the only means of saving British farming from utter ruin, deluged as they are by chief products from overseas. But they make no secret of the fact that it can only be done by raising the price of farm products. But the voice of British farmers is too feeble to be heard by the strong and well-organised industrial workers who form the vast majority of the population and whose interests would suffer by dear food and raw materials. A country whose foreign trade is so important as that of Great Britain and which sends more than half of her total exports to foreign markets, where she is already experiencing great difficulties in marketing them, naturally fights shy of such a proposal. It is very doubtful if she will be able to sell in the Empire market what she fails to dispose of in the foreign markets. The Dominions are not sufficiently thickly populated to absorb very much more of British products, while the purchasing power of the "teeming millions" in India is too low to offer a remunerative market for highpriced British goods. Per head of the population India consumed, in 1926, £7-4*s*.-11*d*. of the exports of the produce and manufactures of U.K. It is the lowest among British Dominions (the figures for New Zealand are £14-16*s*.-5*d*.) and lower than that of foreign countries like France, Germany and U. S. A. It must be further noted that discrimination against foreign goods is likely to lead to retaliation and the loss of most favoured nation treatment which G.B. at present enjoys. Great Britain may experience other kinds of repercussions also. As a retaliatory measure U.S.A. may refuse to take in British immigrants and thus add to her unemployment trouble. From the beginning of the present century to 1926 U.S.A. absorbed more British emigrants than any other country, though of late years British

North America has come to claim the place of honour. The supremacy of the London Money Market which is not a little dependent on the far-flung commerce of United Kingdom, may be threatened. The supply of raw materials, which is mainly produced outside the Empire, may be partially or wholly cut off. It is thus apparent from the considerations urged that the ideal of immediate free trade within the Empire is "too wild a form of kite-flying to be of any use in practical politics" (Robertson—*Trade and Tariffs*).

In conclusion let us examine if the twofold implications of this policy, *viz.*, free movement of goods within the Empire and a common Imperial Tariff against foreign goods, can be kept apart and which of these two is more capable of adoption, if both cannot be adopted at the same time. From the theoretical standpoint there is no reason why the two parts cannot be kept separate. Professor Nicholson thinks that "internal free trade throughout the Empire, though possible without any customs union, would be promoted and strengthened thereby and the benefits of real commercial union are too great to be cast aside on account of a literal interpretation of free trade..... .....nor is there any reason to insist on the exact uniformity of the Imperial customs, so long as the main ideas are realised." Prof. Gregory remarks in the same strain, "if inter-imperial tariffs are not necessarily a barrier to a common extra-imperial tariff, neither is free trade within the Empire necessarily a step towards the unification of Imperial customs tariffs. So far as free trade within the Empire is concerned, even when this issue is not complicated by the simultaneous adoption of a policy of "tariff-assimilation" (a common uniform tariff against the rest of the world), the movement of events in recent times, as well as the course of history do not encourage us to hope that in the near future this policy is likely to be adopted within the British Empire. Here the opposition comes chiefly from the Colonies; they have not hesitated to impose Tariffs on goods coming from the mother country to benefit their own industries.

If this can happen when colonies are overwhelmingly agricultural, one can only expect that the opposition of interests between the mother country and the Colonies will become more pronounced with the progressive industrialisation of the latter. *The Economist* (November 16, 1929) says of Australia (and this is true of other Colonies as well) that "it is a country definitely committed to a protectionist policy. Every one accepts the fact, which incidentally, is an example of the insuperable obstacles in the way of Empire Free Trade." In fact with the progress of time the colonies, instead of showing signs of assimilation with the mother country, are on the contrary developing an independent and distinctive outlook. It finds expression in the demand for breaking away from judicial subordination to the English Privy Council, the regulation and restriction of immigration from the United Kingdom, separate representation in the League of Nations. It is again voiced by the Imperial Council of 1926 which lays down, "they (Great Britain and Dominions) are autonomous communities within the Empire, equal in status and in no way subordinate one to another, in any aspect of their domestic and foreign affairs though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Every self-governing member of the Empire is now master of its own destiny."

Admitting that free trade within the Empire is unattainable, let us next enquire whether the different members of the Empire are likely to adopt a common fiscal policy with regard to non-Empire countries. The answer depends very much on whether the policy adopted is likely to suit the economic interests of the parts concerned. In a world-wide Empire, the economic situation and hence the needs of the different parts are likely to be diverse ; and if the tariff is to correspond to these needs must be highly differentiated. Prof. Gregory remarks "the greater the geographical dispersion; the greater the chances are that a common uniform tariff will be inapplicable and that some parts of the area must suffer in consequence." Mr. Delle-Donne in his

European Tariff policies says, "hitherto the colonies, whose economic interests are so varied and complex that they do not lend themselves to being protected by a uniform policy throughout the whole Empire, have often sacrificed their interests for the benefit of the mother country." A Dominion Prime Minister might have formed a firm conviction that a policy of protection best suits the interests of his country, while an English Labour Premier might have an equally strong conviction that a policy of free trade best accords with the peculiar needs of his own people and may even refuse to take action against the free importation of bounty-fed wheat from Germany. It is quite possible that at no distant future Canada might allow free imports of wood-pulp or flax from U. S. A. or Russia for her paper-making or textile industry (possibly the two most important industries in Canada) and tax the imports of paper and linen from the United Kingdom with a view to protect her own industries. Australia might be willing to import coal freely from U. S. A. while South Africa might think that such free imports would depress her coal mining industry. Tariff assimilation is almost as hopeless of attainment as free trade within the Empire. It has the further disadvantage that even if it were adopted, it is likely to take the form of protection all round rather than of universal free trade. Great Britain, the staunchest advocate of free trade so long, has already partially adopted protection by the Key Industries Act of 1926 and $\frac{1}{10}$ of her imports had already received protection by 1928. It is, however, exactly against this raising of duties by different states that the League of Nations raised its voice. The World Economic Conference held in Geneva in 1927, attended by representatives from 50 different nations affirmed that "a return to the effective liberty of international trading is one of the primary conditions of world prosperity." This view was further endorsed by the International Chamber of Commerce at Stockholm in 1927.

Cannot anything be done in this matter then? Yes, attempts can be made to have freer trade, more trade and increasing trade

between different parts of the Empire and encouragement may be given to inter-imperial trade by better advertisement of Empire goods, by better organisation of transport facilities, by a more thorough study of the needs of the different members of the Empire and by the adoption of more up-to-date methods of production. Already the sentimental preference for Empire goods is strong and the Empire Marketing Board is doing useful work. Yet Mr. Campbell is thoroughly right when he opines that "no such Scheme (Empire Free Trade) should be so rigid as to exclude the possibility of reciprocal or other concessions to foreign countries." The colonies may extend the market for British manufactures by keeping out of their country foreign goods by means of a tariff, but United Kingdom can do little in return for her colonies. Possibly their need for stimulation is less than that of Great Britain, as they export mainly raw materials. This is probably the reason why colonies have persevered in their policy of Imperial Preference even without substantial encouragement from the mother country.

S. R. Bose

AMONG THE SEASON'S GOOD BOOKS

The development of travel through the ages is intensely interesting. From primitive horse travelling in the West we have reached, by a remarkable process of stages, the more luxurious transport afforded by modern motor coaches, oil-driven locomotives, and swift moving planes. In the East the primitive methods of travel are still, to a large extent, retained, the camel, the horse, and the elephant playing very important rôles in the great game of transport. Bullocks are still used in many countries, and even dogs are pressed into service for drawing milk-carts in Belgium.

The steam engine, the bicycle, the aeroplane, the locomotive and ship are each dealt with in Lt. Colonel F. S. Brereton's latest work "Travel" (Messrs. B. T. Batsford, London, 4*s*. 6*d*.) which is copiously illustrated throughout. Many brains have contributed to the betterment of travel, and it is fascinating, as we proceed through this book, to watch the successful results of the inventors' handiwork.

How we all like to read legends and folk-tales. At least, I do myself, and we find there are few people adverse to a pleasant half hour spent reading such well written books as Donald Mackenzie's "Indian Fairy Stories" (Messrs. Blackie & Sons, Bombay, 5*s*.). I came into close contact with many fine Indian folk-tales and legends whilst editing a series for a publishing house a few months ago, but those contained in Mackenzie's volume are choice specimens, and are as fine a set as one could wish to read. "The Story of the Star Maidens" is a dainty legend. It deals with the fate of one of three Star Maidens, who, consumed with a longing to visit the distant earth, stole down a fine web of silk, which the King of Spiders spun for them specially, to a pool in a deep forest. When it is time to return, alas! only two can manage to get

back for one sister had the clothes stolen by a wandering hunter, and, as she could not return without them, she was forced to remain on earth as his wife. Many of the stories deal with animals, and some with the notorious 'Rakshasas,' a tribe of legendary evil monsters against whom fairy influence is always working. I spent an hour deeply absorbed in "Indian Fairy Tales," and shall treasure it for future use.

I wonder if there is a more famous spot in the whole world than London. I say 'spot' because London is but a spot compared with the whole of the world. Of course in reality London is a tremendous city, full of charms, beauty, pathos, wonderment, wealth and poverty. If you desire to tour London, and are without the means to carry out your project, read and study W. Teignmouth Shore's "Touring London" (Messrs. Batsford, London, 4*s*.) and, so well has Shore done his work, so much life, description, and simplicity has he infused into the hundred and five pages which comprise this praiseworthy little volume, that to read it is to emerge educated about the main points of London. Not a stone does he leave unturned to imprint essential facts, upon the reader's mind. We commence from Trafalgar Square (the book contains excellent plates and a topping map) and trek through the Strand, Fleet Street (centre of London's Newspaper publishing activities), Ludgate Hill, around St. Paul's Cathedral, up to the Mansion House, along Cheapside, down Newgate Street, Holborn, Oxford Street, Park Lane, Green Park, St. James' Park, and back once more to Trafalgar Square. That comprises the first chapter, and for four lengthy tours Mr. Shore makes Trafalgar Square his starting point each time. He tells us all about the cafes, hotels, theatres and other places of amusement, and about the docks of London, centre of the world's shipping. He positively insists that readers must not look upon his book as a 'guide book,' but rather to treat it as if you were a friendly visitor bent on seeing the most of London, and that you have Mr. Teignmouth Shore as a guide.

To while away a pleasant hour I can recommend Richard Dark's "Shakespeare and That Crush" (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 4*s*. 6*d*.). With flippant pen and satirical skill he sketches word pictures of such eminent men as Chaucer, Pope, Milton, Ben Jonson, Addison, Swift, Wordsworth, Keats, Shelley, Carlyle, Ruskin and Tennyson. I will take the liberty of quoting a paragraph or so from the Shakesperean section, "While yet in his teens William Shakespeare ran across Anne Hathaway and immediately succumbed to her charms. She was considerably his senior, and just what it was in her that attracted him he could never satisfactorily explain even to himself...After the wedding ceremony William escaped by the early morning wagon to London...Arrived in the Metropolis he made instinctively for the stage...and in a few years his ability as an actor were recognised by all. Meanwhile he had started also as a dramatist. With the aid of a pair of scissors (probably Anne's), a paste-pot, and a typewriter he set to work patching up old plays, and altering those written by his contemporaries." Genius held up in a humorous light, is the result of Richard Dark's clever fooling.

LELAND J. BERRY

AMERICAN EDUCATORS AS PROMOTERS OF WORLD PEACE

The Nobel Peace Prize for 1931 was awarded to Miss Jane Addams of Chicago and Dr. Nicholas Murry Butler, the President of Columbia University. Miss Addams, the founder of Hull House, the most famous Social Settlement in the United States, has given the best of her energy to spread the ideal of social justice. She has promoted the cause of world peace in a constructive manner. She is the founder of the movement of "Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom," Miss Addams is a pacifist who believes that there cannot be world peace on the basis of status quo which denies freedom to hundreds of millions of people. Her innate sense of justice makes her a champion of the cause of down-trodden individuals and the same spirit urges her to espouse the cause of the oppressed peoples of the world, irrespective of their race and colour. When Ireland was fighting for her freedom and the people were victims of the infamous "Black and Tan Rule," the American people, sympathisers of the cause of Irish Freedom, sought the co-operation of the most respected Americans to investigate the situation in Ireland and Miss Jane Addams was chosen to be the Chairman of this Committee whose most effective work aided the cause of Irish Freedom. Miss Addams is conscious of the wrong done to the people of India and other Asian peoples ; and therefore she advocates their freedom and opposes all forms of repressive measures which strangle human rights. She is naturally opposed to violence and therefore a great admirer of Mahatma Gandhi and thinks that the method of Non-violent Non-co-operation is possibly the most effective means to remedy social and political wrongs.

To promote the cause of peace and freedom has been the passion of her life. As a constructive worker she knows that

this ideal of promoting world peace with justice and liberty cannot be accomplished in one's life-time. The cause of peace and freedom should be fought in all countries and in all ages and therefore organised efforts among the lovers of world peace and freedom is an essential factor for success. Miss Addams has the support of thousands of women of all nationalities to promote this ideal. Therefore when Miss Addams received her share of the Nobel Prize, she devoted the whole amount to the treasury of Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom which is engaged in educating world public opinion for peace in an effective manner. Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom maintains its international head-quarters in Geneva, while its has national groups and national organizations in all important western countries. But Miss Addams lives quietly in Hull House of Chicago where she devotes her energy in solving social and international problems.

II

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the President of Columbia University, is one of the greatest educators of the world. He is a realist in his method of work and a great idealist, striving for world peace. As an idealist, he emphasises the ideal of world peace and as a realist he works to remove the existing obstacles in the way of world peace. He is possibly the greatest administrative genius in the American educational world. This can be understood from Dr. Butler's achievements in making Columbia University one of the greatest institutions of learning in the world. In 1902 Dr. Butler became the President of Columbia University. "The growth under his administration is evident if the total enrolment of 4,400 resident students in 1901 is compared with that of 37,808 in 1931, and the budget of over $1,000,000 in 1901 compared with $16,638,828 for the fiscal year ending in 1931. The little University of 1901 and 1902 has developed into the greatest in the world."

The aim of true education, according to Dr. Butler, is to develop the "international mind," and not merely acquiring efficiency in certain branch of knowledge. While annually vast sums are being spent for education of under-graduates in Columbia University, but the present tendency is to encourage research and weeding out under-graduates and candidates for admission.

"Research at Columbia is organised under a system which has been influenced by German models, yet which is eminently American in form. The "centre," where allied cultures and sciences are brought together, is typical of the university and of Dr. Butler's policies. The great Medical Centre is its best-known expression, but the proposed Engineering Centre will rest on the same principles. Teachers' College, which has been allied with the university since 1899, the Union Theological Seminary, which is so closely affiliated as to be practically a part of the university, and the School of Journalism are other conspicuous examples.

A similar theory is behind the Maison Francaise, the Casa Italiana, the Deutsches Haus, the Casa de las Españas and the Japanese Culture Centre, in which are taught and studied the whole history and the cultures of the countries represented. In these centres there is a place for the undergraduate who is beginning to specialize, the graduate student and the professional man or teacher who wishes to refresh his knowledge of his chosen subject.

The full list of the university's organized activities is of considerable length and bewildering diversity. But the theory behind them is one of emphasis upon the unity rather than the variety of human knowledge. The "interscholastic mind" as well as the "international mind" is stressed, and co-operation of research workers towards a common end is made possible. It is this policy more than any other which has given Columbia world-wide standing, made its degrees admissible everywhere, and enable it to command support for almost any enterprise it

chooses to undertake. The federal system applied to education, as Dr. Butler has often expressed it, has proved to have a very wide popular as well as scholarly appeal.

Columbia University may be regarded as an institution which is engaged in training experts for all nationalities and these experts with their breadth of vision are to aid the cause of better understanding among nations.

Dr. Butler is not content with allowing the cause of promotion of world peace to develop slowly. He is ever active to accelerate its progress by systematic efforts. He is connected with dozens of organizations which are furthering the cause of world peace in their own spheres. However as the head of the Carnegie Foundation, and assisted by scores of devoted and most experienced workers as Dr. James Brown Scott, Dr. James Shotwell and others, Dr. Butler is promoting better understanding among nations by aiding universities, research scholars on international affairs, journalists, visiting professors and other activities which will promote the cause of world peace. Personally Dr. Butler is a world figure. His personal influence with statesmen of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and other countries is tremendous ; and this influence is due to this great American educator's sincere interest in the cause of world peace. Indian educators and statesmen may feel that Dr. Butler has not shown any interest regarding India. But that is not the case. Indian scholars who have come in contact with Dr. Butler will testify that he has great interest in the peoples of the East as well as those of the West. Western scholars and institutions have received Dr. Butler's co-operation and attention, because they showed their eagerness to enlist his support. Those Indian educators and statesmen who are interested in promoting world peace through cultural co-operation, will find Dr. Butler most sympathetic and earnest.

III

For the first time in the history of the United States an American woman—a great woman educator—has been appointed as one of the representatives of the Government of the United States in a major international conference. This interesting and epoch-making event took place when President Hoover appointed Dr. Mary E. Wooley, President of Mount Holyake College (South Hadley, Mass) as one of the American delegates of the Disarmament Conference which has begun its session in February, 1932.

President Wooley is a great educator and for more than two decades has taken active part in rousing the American people, especially women, to do their best so that "law" and "arbitration" will take the place of war. Dr. Wooley is one of the members of the "*National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War*" of which Mrs. Cassic Chapman Catt is the President. This National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War is composed of representatives of more than a dozen of the most important powerful women's organizations of the United States. Dr. Wooley represents American Association of University Women. Dr. Wooley advocates that those who have exceptional opportunities for higher education have greater responsibilities for serving the people. Educated women have greater responsibility for promoting the cause of world peace than their less educated sisters. Dr. Wooley is an ardent advocate of woman's rights and economic independence. But she holds that if women do not use their political and economic power to bring about a better social order then they are not fulfilling their obligations to themselves and to posterity.

Dr. Wooley is an optimist. Recently while she was in Paris, on her way to Geneva to attend the Disarmament Conference, some one cynically remarked to her about the futility of such a

Conference when the members of the League of Nations and signatories of the Kellogg Peace Pact were engaged in an un-official war in the Far East. Dr. Wooley calmly but firmly asserted that the world situation demands that we must exert greater efforts to promote the ideal of peace. She was under no illusion about the difficulty of accomplishing the end, but she was anxious to do her share to the best of her ability.

Among American educators, one finds the finest type of idealists and in their work lies the future of America and to a great extent the future of the world.

TARAKNATH DAS

IS SPIRITUALISM IRRECONCILABLE WITH CONTROL OF NATURE BY MAN

The present age which is esssntially an age of Science seems to have made a rapid march towards Scepticism and more especially Agnosticism, and the people of the present generation are prone to think that science alone is competent to unfold the mysteries of the Universe and not religion. In fact ever since Lord Bacon wrote his famous "Novum Organum Scientarum" or the New Organ of Scientific Enquiries in the year 1620, an unreasoned hatred for all that is religious and moral seems to have made its appearence in the world and people are loath to believe that there is an invisible God—the First Creator or the Creator of men-creators.

The reason for this growing disbelief in religion is not far to seek. In recent years science has made very considerable progress, and has made human life so comfortable on earth that in their mad endeavour to satisfy their ever-growing wants men have almost held their back against religion, which they often think to be an idler's profession. The railway engine with its immense power to carry terrific loads, the flying aeroplane with all its wonder and various other triumphs of science have thrilled the imagination of men, so much so, that they are now expectantly looking forward to a day when life may be produced in the laboratory. Though it is difficult to say whether such a day will at all come or not, the hopes raised by the recent triumphs of science cannot be overestimated.

At the time Darwin wrote his epoch-making book "The Origin of the Species" (1859) people could not believe that a time would soon come when religion would be ousted from its traditional stronghold; only to be taken care of by the churchman

and philosopher. But unfortunately such a time made its appearance immediately after Darwin's publication of his marvellous thesis, which stirred the imagination of the people of the 19th century and made all men look upon the dogmas of the church with doubt and suspicion. In the sequel it will be my chief endeavour to show that belief in an All-powerful Being is not irreconcilable either with belief in the Theory of Evolution or with human power to control the forces of Nature.

It will be well to recall here what Lord Bacon says of science. Bacon says that "Scientia est potentia. Natura parendo Vincitur"—science is power, and that by a proper interpretation of Nature, she can be dominated and made to serve our purpose. This assertion of Bacon is full of meaning, though we must not assume it to mean that the verdict of the scientist is the last word in the riddles of the Universe.

True it is that we could not have made much advance in our trade, commerce and many other things but for those immortal scientists like Watt, Faraday, Edison, Marconi and many others, who unfolded the laws of Nature and made people believe that Nature could be controlled and utilised. But, notwithstanding the great skill and thought which they displayed, we ought not to lose sight of the most important fact that though man can control Nature, he cannot create Nature. Man is only a second creator—he can create something new provided the materials are there. Just as a potter cannot create the clay with which he works, so the scientist cannot create the materials with which he works. If then, it is a fact that man cannot create either matter or life, the power and omnipotence of an unseen creator of the Universe must remain an accepted truth.

Now then, we reach a point where the much-accentuated differences between science and religion fade away and both the scientist and the theologian shake hands. The Atomic Theory in its old form is no longer maintained and no one now believes that the atoms dropped straight from Heaven and

that they are the original matter out of which the whole Universe had mechanically evolved through long periods of time. Charles Darwin did not really deny the existence or omnipotence of God, though many people believe that his Theory of Mechanical Evolution leaves no room for belief in an All-Powerfull Being. Like Buddha, Darwin is simply silent on the question of the existence of God—a question which he does not touch at all. What I want to show here is that the Evolutionary Theory, if properly understood, does not really run counter to the theistic belief, but simply supplements that belief. Here, of course, we must draw a clear distinction between mechanical evolution and teleological or purposeful evolution. The theory advocated by Darwin is that of mechanical or fortuitous evolution, whereas the other theory—the one maintained by the idealist, is that of purposeful evolution. Now, it will be seen that whereas the second theory is logical and convincing the first one is illogical and unconvincing.

Darwin wants to prove that nature shows no signs of purpose or design, but that everything is fortuitous or mechanical. According to him, man himself had developed from the anthropogite ape and that he is nothing more than a "conscious automaton," to use a Cartesian phrase. But what I want to point out is that neither Darwin nor the biologists that followed him could explain the origin of life or consciousness—a phenomenon entirely distinct from matter and in no way the product of matter. Matter is inert and dead, whereas life is full of activity, sensations and emotions. Those scientists who dogmatically maintain that life or consciousness had automatically evolved out of lifeless matter fail to explain how matter which is unconscious could give rise to conscious mind. Accepting the law of causality as understood by the scientist, the theory that life or consciousness had evolved out of lifeless matter appears to be illogical and absurd. We fail to understand how the effect could be entirely different from the cause. If matter is supposed to be the cause of life, it must

possess all the characteristics of life; otherwise it cannot be supposed to be the cause of life. But, as matter does not possess any of the characteristics of life, it cannot be supposed to be the cause of life. The life principle has been an enigma to all scientists of all ages and will probably remain so till the end of time. Huxley, Tyndall and many others fail to explain this strange phenomenon and the scientist finds himself bewildered and puzzled before this "terra incognita," the origin of which is, to use Herbert Spencer's phraseology, "unknown and unknowable."

Contrary to the above, the idealist can give a reasonable account of the Universe as the evolution and self-expression of God, who realises Himself through the innumerable beings He creates. The Universe as understood by the idealist is a vast field for Gods' eternal activity. The idealist does not deny that there are grades of reality, that the lower develops into the higher, but what he emphasises is that everything in Universe is purposeful and what there is no creature on earth, however tiny it may be, which does not serve God's purpose and manifest His glory.

Thus the time-worn quarrel between science and religion is more imaginary than real. Viewed in the proper perspective, neither religion is antagonistic to science nor science is antagonistic to religion. The only difference is that whereas the first deals with the invisible and the eternal, the latter deals with the visible and the temporal. Even this distinction between the visible and the invisible is more apparent than real, as the visible is only an external manifestation of the invisible. They are as if two sides of the same shield. This great truth was clearly seen by the Hindu "rishis" of old, who attributed our supposed reality (in the sense of permanence) of the world of sense to "māyā" or "avidyā" (Ignorance). The objects of the world are not unreal in the same sense in which a chimera is unreal, they are unreal only in the sense of being temporal and evanescent.

If then, science and religion are not enemies but friends, I do not see any force in the argument that science leaves no room for belief in a Supreme being—the original and one Creator of all existing things. In fact, the scientist's world is only a microcosm in comparison with the theologian's world, which is a macrocosm. But, since the microcosm is only a partial manifestation of the macrocosm, the difference between the two worlds is not unbridgeable, as we think it to be.

At the beginning of the article I have remarked that the present age is essentially an age of science and that it seems to have ousted religion from its traditional stronghold. In conclusion, I think another remark will be pertinent and fit. Scientific discoveries have done humanity not good alone, but harm too. The huge forces of Nature let loose by science have ultimately turned against men, for whose benefit they were intended and the strange anomaly of the present-day civilisation is that men have not been able to control the various forces of destruction of which they are the masters. This has made the thoughtful section of humanity to ponder deeply over the ultimate worthlessness of science, which in the long run appears to be more destructive than constructive. In fact, an impassioned cry for peace has already made its appearance in the world and I believe that religion alone is competent to cure all our evils and to take us slowly but steadily towards the sure goal of salvation.

PRAPHULLAPRAN CHANGKAKATI

PRAYER

O Lord the night is dark
The way is cloudy long ;
One look of Thine own eye
Anon, I sing my song.
Hard by yon hill dogs bark
I am afraid to sing,
Let Thy face smile awhile
How swift I fare, my King.
The mighty Sun of world
How could Thy eye miss me ?
O everywhere Thou look,
I doubt, how can it be ?

V. H. PANDIT

THE PERSONALITY OF A FAMOUS BENGALI [1]

We have assembled here this evening to celebrate the 67th anniversary of the birth of a great son of Bengal who passed away suddenly seven years ago in far-off Patna. To study the various aspects of his impressive personality or to review the salient features of his eventful life within the scope of a short paper is certainly difficult. In this hall which has so often resounded with his eloquence like the great hall on the other side of College Square, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee must seem to many of us to be present bodily this evening; we seem almost to see his stately figure and to hear his mighty voice. There are also many distinguished men present here who were privileged to know Sir Asutosh intimately and to work with him for years. Many here are familiar with his brilliant career as an educationist, a lawyer and a Judge and had glimpses of his extraordinary personality. Here we are surrounded with the very emblems of success which crowned his wonderful life and no further appreciation of it appears to be necessary. But to know a man by the fruits of his victory, to know him by the success which has rewarded his labours is not to know him fully. It is also necessary to find out if he had any disappointments, any unrealised ideals, any void in his soul which his highest achievements could not fill up. Sorrow is a truer index of a man's nature than happiness. As Oscar Wilde says in his *De Profundis*, "Prosperity, pleasure and success may be of rough grain and common in fibre, but sorrow is the most sensitive of all created things." But Sir Asutosh was so uniformly successful in life, that it is difficult to imagine that he might have had any unrealised desires,

[1] Paper read at a meeting in the University Institute under the Presidentship of Sir C. V. Raman on the 29th June, 1931.

that he might ever have yearned for something which he could not obtain or that there might possibly have been in a corner of his heart any pang of sorrow or disappointment. Our doubts, however, are resolved by his own words :—" Plans and schemes to heighten the efficiency of the University have been the subject of my day-dreams.....they have haunted me in the hours of nightly rest. To University concerns *I have sacrificed all chances of study and research.*" Thus he unburdened his soul in his memorable Convocation speech of 1914. This expression of regret is genuine; since the renunciation, for want of opportunity, of a life of scholarship and the sacrifice of brilliant prospects of lasting fame through research and study were, for a man of Sir Asutosh's calibre, no small sacrifice. The young man whose academic career was one of sustained brilliance and passed into a byword amongst later generations and who by his original mathematical contributions attracted the attention of distinguished authorities in Europe, naturally looked forward, after the termination of his academic life, to adequate facilities for widening the bounds of knowledge. It is certain that under favourable circumstances and with proper assistance and encouragement he would have achieved the most signal success as a savant and carved out a niche for himself in the temple of eternal fame. The days are gone when Indians were looked upon as inherently and constitutionally incompetent to make scientific research and the last of a pretty long series of recognitions of Indians' capacity in this field came when the eminent scientist presiding over this meeting was ushered into the brilliant audience-hall of the snow-clad palace of King Gustav to receive the Nobel Prize for Physics. Those who have only known Sir Asutosh as a lawyer and as a Judge or have watched his career as a man of action, may find it difficult to conceive of him in a different rôle : they may very naturally ask themselves how a dynamic personality like his could have possibly been buried in contemplation. Yet there is no room for doubt that if he had confined himself

to the study of science, Sir Asutosh would have made abiding contributions to the world's stock of knowledge. Sir Asutosh, like all remarkable men, must have been conscious of his talents, and in turning, for want of adequate opportunity, from science to law, from contemplation to action, he must have felt a severe wrench of the heart and heaved a sigh of regret at the sacrifice which his choice of career involved and which was not required of him for the first time when University affairs became one of his chief concerns in life. This feeling of regret or disappointment gives us a truer insight into the character of Sir Asutosh and explains his subsequent activities as an educationist. The thought that scholarship and research were impossible for meritorious Indians for want of proper facilities in Calcutta was unbearable to him and his interest in the Association for the Cultivation of Science and his subsequent foundation of the University College of Science and the Post-Graduate Departments were all prompted by this feeling. That these institutions are fulfilling the purposes which their illustrious founder had in view and gradually realising his cherished dreams is now beyond question and the Chairman of this meeting is a living proof of the far-sighted wisdom of the great educationist.

I have referred only to one aspect of his life; but it is so varied and has so many remarkable features that its full analysis must be a difficult task. Though he could not devote himself entirely to the search for truth, he interested himself in almost every subject which has any cultural value. Western literature and Science, Sanskrit and Pali, the modern Indian languages, Philosophy, Antiquities and Jurisprudence—all these claimed a share of his attention. But active life was intertwined with this interest in things intellectual. Civic affairs of this great city, larger destinies of the country as shaped in the legislatures, guidance of large educational institutions and scientific associations, practice at the law-courts—all these made simultaneous claims on his time, energy and vitality. He

was equally at home as President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, President of the Indian Science Congress and of the Board of Sanskrit Examinations, Vice-Chancellor of the foremost University in India and one of His Majesty's Judges in the Calcutta High Court. The burden that would have crushed any other man served only to call forth fresh energy and greater enthusiasm from Sir Asutosh. These are well-known facts. His varied experience gained in important positions and in different spheres of activity combined with his versatile scholarship was responsible for the evolution of a unique personality which baffles analysis. Like all extra-ordinary men, it fell to his lot to be the butt of criticisms which neutralise one another. Apart from "the risk of having his motives and aims misconceived and misinterpreted," he ran the further risk of having his views and opinions labelled according to the schools of thought to which his friends belonged. Was he a hard-headed worldly-wise man or a visionary? There are supporters of both these views,—one class of them pointing to his remarkable success at the Bar, his successful efforts to secure large benefactions for his Alma Mater and his skill in conducting meetings, and the other relying on his vision of a great teaching University in Calcutta and his undimmed hope of independent research of the highest type being carried on there in all branches of knowledge. Was he, it is asked, a modernist or a classicist, a lover of ancient ideas and writers? We find supporters of both the views and references are made by them, in support of their respective contentions, on the one hand to Sir Asutosh's labours in the Asiatic Society and in the Board of Sanskrit Examinations, his interest in the indigenous system of Sanskrit scholarship represented in the *tols* and in Buddhistic lore enshrined in Pali, Chinese and Tibetan, the opening, at his instance, of a large number of courses for the M.A. Examination in Sanskrit in the Calcutta University and, on the other, to his repeated insistence on the necessity of the application of western critical

and historical methods in the field of Indian scholarship, the institution, under his guidance, of M.A. courses in modern Indian languages in our University, the adoption of the vernacular as the medium of instruction in some cases and, last but not least, the elaborate arrangements made for the teaching of various branches of modern Science in the University Science College. It has similarly been asked whether Sir Asutosh was primarily a man of action or a man of thought, whether he was orthodox or liberal in his religious views, whether he was a nationalist or a "moderate" in his political ideas.

Man has been called by Charles Lamb "a bundle of contradictions." But contradiction, as much as harmony, is largely a matter of personal opinion and conviction and its reality or unreality often depends on angles of vision. It is because ordinary people faixo realise this, that they try to shield themselves against the charge involved in Lamb's words by subscribing to a creed or by affecting to conform to a school. Master minds are capable of taking a comprehensive view; they are alive to the changefulness of social ideas and the complexity of human thought. They can respond to the impact of new forces and appreciate fresh outlook on the part of rising generations, without being fettered by "our little systems." We can apply to such men what a critic said of an English philosophical poet: "The difficulty, and the interest, arises from his equal acceptance of all available authorities; it should not be increased by over-simplification, by trying to confine him to a school."

Sir Asutosh had some illustrious men of Bengal as his contemporaries, who were leaders of public opinion, educationists or jurists. It would be interesting to compare him with these representative Bengalis and to bring out the main features of each of them. Comparisons need not be odious; on the contrary, when made in the right spirit, they are morally and intellectually stimulating and are merely a form of offering tributes of homage and respect. But time forbids me to notice in detail the acute intellect and the saintly character of Gooroodass

Banerji, the massive legal lore of Rashbehari Ghose, the persuasive advocacy and the level-headed politics of S. P. Sinha, the dogged tenacity of Byomkesh Chakerbutty, the thundering oratory and the fiery nationalism of Surendranath Banerjea, the self-sacrifice and emotional abandon of Chittaranjan Das side by side with the versatile culture and the masterful personality of Asutosh Mookerjee. Each was certainly unique in his own way. Intellectual curiosity has been a well-known mark of the people of Bengal since the days of Jimutavahana and Raghunandan and culture has always been held in high estimation by us. It was the privilege of Sir Asutosh to foster this spirit of enquiry, to guide it into proper channels and to afford it some scope for its activity. He organised the educational resources of the country and by centralising them in the University of Calcutta made the latter a potent factor of the Renaissance in India. He brought Indian scholars and students into contact with reputed savants of Europe in order to encourage them and instil into their minds faith and self-confidence.

But, if we go deeper, we shall find that Bengal as a whole loved Asutosh Mookerjee not merely for his varied culture or his valuable achievements in the field of education. Love, as Socrates explains in the *Symposium*, is of something which a man does not possess in himself and it may be said that a nation loves in its great men some attributes of character which are rare even in its distinguished members. Asutosh, to the people of Bengal, was the personification of irresistible power, of immeasurable energy and infinite strength of will. As Rabindranath Tagore said in his tribute to the departed soul, "Men are always rare in all countries...who have the thundering voice to say that what is needed shall be done: and Asutosh had that magic voice of assurance." He visualised his objective in clear outlines, spent restless days and nights on preparations for reaching it and, when the hour came, pressed on with unerring steps and unflinching steadiness. The voices of disparagers

were hushed in silence, carping critics were struck dumb, opposition melted away like chaff before the wind or as autumn leaves before a wintry gale. No wonder that the supine Bengali stared in amazement at the colossus and knelt down in adoration before him. His voice sounded as the trumpet-call, his sallies of intellect were like swift rapier-thrusts, his marvellous power of organisation supplied the driving-force which gave him victory everywhere. In him was certainly embodied the ideal which had long beckoned his countrymen from afar but was regarded by them as unrealisable and which so naïvely expressed by Chittaranjan Das :

আমি চাহি না শান্ত, চাহি না শিষ্ট, চাহি না নিরীহ মেষ ;
আমি চাহি যে রুদ্র, চাহি যে চণ্ড, চাহি বীরেন্দ্র বেশ।

Providence did not spare him for greater and tougher fights in the political arena which he would have probably entered in course of time. Courage and *strength of will* radiate from real leaders and transmit themselves to their followers. Sir Asutosh could infuse enthusiasm into the minds of the most timid and instil hope and faith into all who had the privilege of coming into contact with him. Bengal which knew him so well, had been expecting the emergence of a great political leader in Sir Ashutosh, a leader fit to bear immense burdens and to shoulder stupendous responsibilities,—one who possesed not only courage and patriotism but also soundness of judgment and a sense of reality in human affairs.

Though politics in Bengal could not profit by his leadership, the University has gained immensely from it. His labours in the cause of Post-Graduate Studies which led to misunderstandings with Government in his life-time were recognised by Lord Lytton as Chancellor of the University when he generously promised to stabilise the Post-Graduate Department as a tribute to the memory of its departed founder. He agreed, to quote His Excellency's inimitable words, "to receive the teaching University of Calcutta as a sacred trust from his

dying hands and in the years to come, whatever changes may be found essential in the general organisation of the University, to allow nothing to threaten its stability, its prosperity, its freedom, or its future development." If this momentous declaration is faithfully adhered to by the Government of Bengal and full effect be given to it, the people of Bengal will be sincerely grateful to it for the honour done to the great educationist who is no more. If his death helps the realisation of his cherished dream which his life-long struggle and labour failed to fulfil, he will go down in history as a martyr to the cause of scholarship and culture.

But it is now seven years since His Excellency the Chancellor gave his solemn assurance and, if I may say so without impropriety, it is a matter of regret to all interested in Higher Education in Bengal that the chances of the stabilisation of the teaching departments of the Calcutta University seem to be as uncertain and as far off as ever.[1] Undoubtedly Lord Lytton was moved by a sincere and magnanimous desire to perpetuate the memory of Sir Asutosh when, unasked and unsolicited, His Excellency undertook on behalf of his Government to put the Post-Graduate Departments on a secure foundation; for he knew that the best means of honouring the dead as well of giving peace and satisfaction to their hovering spirits, was to help on the cause for which they had lived and worked ; and the welfare of these Departments was the object which, in Sir Asutosh's later years, was nearest his heart and on which he lavished unsparingly his vitality, his time and powers of mind. One is prompted to ask what delays the fulfilment of a solemn and self-imposed

[1] Since this paper was read, the Government of Bengal has expressed its intention of making a fixed recurring grant to the University. It is a matter of satisfaction that this has been rendered possible through the personal efforts of His Excellency Sir Stanley Jackson and the Hon'ble the Minister of Education. It bids fair to remove many of the grievances of the University as voiced in the last portion of the present paper. The paper is here printed exactly as it was read without any alteration which might be regarded as desirable in view of the announcement relating to the Government grant but which would have required the recasting of a large portion of it.

obligation by the Government of Bengal. It would be indelicate to wonder if

> ".....the lore
> Of nicely calculated less or more"

is responsible for this slackness on the part of the authorities. Seven years is a pretty long span of time and the echo of Sir Asutosh's deep voice is growing fainter and fainter every day as "from the great deep to the great deep he goes." Asutosh Mookerjee is slowly passing into History and the memory of all that was mortal of him is growing dimmer with the lapse of time; but the appeal of the cause for which he stood grows stronger every day and it should be as strong and as irresistible as that of the heroic men who fell fighting on the field of Flanders for a glorious cause—so felicitously expressed by the English poet:—

> "We are the Dead. Short days ago
> We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
> Loved and were loved, and now we lie
> In Flanders fields.
>
> Take up our quarrel with the foe:
> To you from failing hands we throw
> The torch; be yours to hold it high.
> If ye break faith with us who die
> We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
> In Flanders fields."

The enemy against which Sir Asutosh fought is Ignorance and superstitious Self-complacence, the common enemy of all; and his appeal is to the Government and the people of Bengal alike, for the cause of culture of which he was the champion, ought to be sacred to both. Private benefaction and Government aid should therefore flow in in an unstinted measure for the stabilisation of the Teaching University of Calcutta without which his weary and perturbed soul can find no peace even in the "vasty hall of Death."

MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHERJE

SONGS OF THE SEA

Few people have laboured like Sir Richard R. Terry to rescue the old traditional songs of the sea from their obscure resting place in oblivion. For this painstaking toil on the part of Sir Richard, we should show heartfelt gratitude and joy. I feel that the sea shanties and ballads of days long since past, simply bubble over with cheerfulness and good fellowship, whilst, in some measure, many of them hand down that rousing spirit of gallantry and patriotic pride of the Motherland.

In studying sea shanties we delve deep into the ancient lore of the ocean, tinged, very often, with superstition, but always characterised by that sentimental vein of humour that is peculiarly the seaman's own.

One feels that these songs of the sea might be more widely known than they are, for they would be immeasurably more understandable to singer and audience alike than is the average song that is put up on present-day concert programmes. Such songs as "Chesapeake and Shannon;" "Farewell and Adieu to you, Spanish Ladies"; "Billy Boy;" "The Saucy Arethusa;" and "Lowlands Low" are worthy of inclusion in any concert singer's repertoire.

Whilst such songs as several of the above are not essentially a product of the sea, being composed primarily for the stage, they are inseparably allied to the traditional side of our collections of sea songs. "Tom Bowling" is yet another song of the stage that has clung to its sentimental tarriness and become known as a song of the sea.

Sir Richard Terry's most recent of sea-songs has been published under the title "Salt Sea Ballads" by Curwen, with an admirable Foreword by Morley Roberts, who congratulates Sir Richard "on what he had done to preserve something more of the days that have passed for ever."

Here we have thirty songs of the sea, each with the original words (as far as they were humanly possible to trace) and each with a judicious pianoforte accompaniment added or arranged by Sir Richard himself.

There are, of course, many different editions of sea-shanties and the like, all of whom claim to be authentic. It is remarkable the various words one finds fitted to a single tune, and the various tunes one finds adapted to one set of words. Terry says in his Introduction: "The contrast is painful between the platform performances I hear, and the memory of the same tunes as I heard them in childhood—crooned by the fisher women as they sat baiting their lines by the waving bents, to the accompaniment of the sea's deep bourdon."

It is difficult to state the ages of any of the older sea songs, so many generations have sung them, so many fathers have handed them to their sons, and those sons have in turn handed them on to their sons, to say nothing of those loyal woman hearts who sang the same tunes whilst waiting patiently for their men-folk to return home from the sea.

There are roughly two types of sea-song, the one which was written for singing at hostelries on shore, and the other which was of the sea itself, that seemed to find natural birth in front of the mast. The true songs of sea have been submerged in heavy floods of shore-born ditties that arose simultaneously with any stirring naval event, such as a battle, a chase or an escape.

Sir Richard Terry introduces several rousing choruses, such as "Don't forget your old Shipmate," "Hoh-a-derry dando" and "The Chinese Bumboat Man." "Blow the Wind Southerly" is, in my opinion, one of the finest numbers in the book.

LELAND J. BERRY

THE "SCRAPS OF PAPER" AND THE PROBLEM OF THE STATES

The Indian princes are insistent in their demand that if and when they join the Federation their relations will be direct with the Crown through the Viceroy and not with the Governor-General-in-Council. Only such matters of common concern which have been expressly delegated to the Federal Government should be administered by the latter, everything else being taken care of by the states themselves. In making this demand the princes are no doubt actuated by their undoubted loyalty to the Crown but mostly by their fear that a democratic Federal Government will make more and more inroads upon their prerogatives and their treaty rights will be violated. But a close scrutiny will reveal that their fears are entirely groundless and their condition under the new regime is not likely to be worse than under the present, for these very treaties which are claimed to be sacrosanct have been repeatedly violated by the Political Department of the Government of India under the plausible excuse of either imperial exigencies or for the sake of uniformity of political practice. The author of the "Scraps of Paper" has rendered a distinct service to the cause of Indian nationalism by exposing in all their nakedness the ruthless process by which the princes were humiliated in the eye of the public by the Political Department and their privileges usurped one after another inspite of the solemn promises repeatedly given, guaranteeing their rights, privileges and honours. The book if carefully perused will convince the princes in whose behalf it was written that these treaties upon which they put so much emphasis are looked upon by the Department as no better

than mere scraps of paper to be consigned to the scrap-heap when it will suit their convenience. The sacrosanctity of the treaties is a mere myth and the tenure of their exalted offices is as insecure as possible. On the flimsiest of pretexts a hereditary prince like the Maharana of Udaipore, the Doyen of the Rajput princes, can be thrust away from the Gaddi which he had filled for so long a time with conspicuous ability or that the Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh of Kashmir who according to the testimony of Sir Walter Lawrence, the author of "The India We Served," was a most loyal and worthy ruler, could be similarly shorn of all power on the merest suspicion. For the establishment of the salt monopoly the Government of India did not hesitate to violate the treaty rights of the princes of Kathiawar and Cutch, have destroyed their flourishing trade with other parts of India as well as South and East Africa, have eventually destroyed their shipping and ship-building trade, crippled the finances of the states and have lastly reduced their subjects to penury and have compelled many of these latter to migrate to British India in search of their livelihood. With a view to establish the same monopoly large tracts of the once fertile lands in Kishengarh state in Rajputana have been converted into deserts by withdrawing all supplies of water from them. Again, how the sovereign rights of the states are constantly infringed on the specious plea of exercising uniform jurisdiction over the railways passing through the states as well as cantonments and residencies established in them, is furnished by the rapid growth of the Residency at Indore into a considerable town in close proximity to the capital, depriving the latter of a large part of its customs and excise revenue. The record of the suzerain power is not at all an honourable one which on one plea or other and often in the teeth of determined opposition of the states concerned and not infrequently taking advantage of a minority administration, has sought to tighten its grip on the states and has reduced them to impotence. In his chapter on the "Bed of Procrustes" Nicholson clearly shows how a determined

attempt was made by the Government of India to reduce all major states to the level of Mysore which under the conditions of rendition was obliged to accept many limitations upon its autonomy but which did not apply to the former in whose case there could not have been any question whatsoever of not looking a gift horse in the mouth. In the case of the minor states the rulers were compelled to sign the "fealty bonds" surrendering all the sovereign rights solemnly assured to them. It is sad to reflect that inspite of the devoted and tested loyalty of the princes and their constant readiness to place all their resources at the disposal of the paramount power on the outbreak of hostilities or the least apprehension of danger from any quarter of the globe and last of all the splendid services rendered by them during the last Great War, grave suspicion still seems to lurk in the minds of the authorities as regards the intentions of the feudatories and every request made by the Durbars for up-to-date weapons to arm the state police is subjected to the closest scrutiny. Even the Maharaja of Patiala, the late Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, enjoying the rank of an Hony. Lieutenant-General and Prince Ranjitsingh, so popular with his English friends, were not immune from this suspicion and it was after a tedious correspondence extending over many months that the latter's request to have a small number of rifles to arm a section of his police was complied with. Similarly the Patiala Durbar's request to have only 25 revolvers to arm its police officers above the rank of sub-inspectors has been the subject of a long and humiliating correspondence. It was first started in February, 1926, and is perhaps still being kept up. Thus it will be clear that all the great feudatory states, one after another, have come under the grinding process and have been compelled to part with much of their sovereignty and not infrequently large slices of their territory. As an instance of the latter the case of Berar may be cited. It can be safely assumed that the Swaraj Government will under no circumstances act in this grasping manner provided the princes have the good sense to

accept the contention of the Indian nationalists and establish the reign of law in their territories. The strongest guarantee of the rights and privileges of the princes on which they have put the greatest emphasis and which Indian opinion has unanimously accepted, will be the establishment of a Supreme Federal Court which will decide all justiciable cases arising out of the interpretation of treaties, engagements and sanads. Up till now this request of the princes has fallen upon the Government's deaf ears. In all disputes with the paramount power the states are at a distinct disadvantage. The Government of India has both been a part to a dispute as well as the judge. In the absence of an independent tribunal the case of the Princes has always gone by default and judgment has invariably been pronounced against them.

From this it will be clear that the Princes have nothing to lose and everything to gain from a change in the existing form of government. The only price that will be asked in exchange will be the introduction of constitutional government in their dominions. Already in many of the advanced states the foundations of some form of representative government have been laid and the rulers of many others have repeatedly professed their willingness to do the same. The only thing that they will be now required to do will be to implement these promises so often made. If they have any lurking suspicions in their minds that by introducing these reforms they will weaken their authority they are wholly mistaken. On the contrary by doing this they will infinitely strengthen their hands and their tenure will be secure and permanent. They will have to establish the reign of law in place of the rule of discretion that obtains at present. But this is a change which has been introduced in all civilized countries and is sure to overtake them also, sooner or later, but the sooner they introduce it on their own initiative the better it will be for them; for then it can be effected with the least dislocation of ordinary business as well as change in the established order of things. It is to be expected that the Princes

being generally educated and enlightened will not fail to realise that the rôle of a constitutional ruler is in no way inferior to that of an autocrat. As *an enlightened* ruler of his *enlightened subjects* the former fills a more exalted office and can wield more power when he can enlist the willing co-operation of his subjects. As a constitutional ruler the Prince will establish himself more securely on the throne and will be still left in enjoyment of a very considerable amount of power, patronage and initiative. He will continue to be the head of the executive government, being the fountain-head of all power, honour and prestige. All the officers, executive or judicial, from the chief minister downwards, will be appointed by him or under his authority. The ministers will hold office only during his pleasure though they will have to be appointed from among those enjoying the confidence of the state legislature, this practice being brought into line, from time to time, with that obtaining in Federal India. The writs will run in his name and he will have the privilege of summoning, proroguing or dissolving the legislature. His office will be a hereditary one. He will be the channel of all communications with the Federal Government and for many years to come he may be entrusted with the charge of seeing to the execution of all federal laws in his realm subject to oversight by federal officers. This was exactly so in *pre-war* Germany as opposed to the custom which prevails in America where federal officers work side by side with the state officers. But pre-war Germany, divided as it was unequally into a large number of principalities, great and small, and one great partner which overshadowed the rest, offers in many respects a more suitable model for our imitation than America with her strict ideas of equality in the *status of the states*. The Prince may be also the commander of the state forces as in Bavaria, a privilege and honour which he now does not enjoy though the force will be a part of the federal army and will have to be officered in its higher ranks by federal military officers and as regards recruitment, training, equipment and inspection will be subject to

regulations formed by the Federal Government in the interests of efficiency and uniformity. In the years immediately succeeding the establishment of the Federation the states' representatives to the Council of State, which will be the Federal chamber, may be the nominees of the Durbars instead of the representatives of the subjects who will find their place in the Legislative Assembly, a practice which also obtained in pre-war Germany (Woodrow Wilson's "State," p. 449). Through these representatives acting under instructions from the Durbars, the Princes will be able to exercise a potent influence on, and to guide the course of, federal politics. Their honours and dignities will remain intact. They will always represent the states on all ceremonious occasions. Over and above this they will be entirely relieved of their constant fear of the encroachment of their rights by the agents of the Government of India which now keeps them on the tenter-hooks. In fact the powers which will still be left to the Princes or which will be added to the existing ones will be so considerable that the strongest constitutional monarch in the world may well envy them.

This change from arbitrary to constitutional rule will not be so great as it looks on the surface if we are to believe in the assurances constantly given that already many of the states have accepted the recommendations of Lord Irwin regarding a fixed privy purse, security of tenure of the services and an independent judiciary. All that the Princes will have to do now will be to advance a step further and to grant constitutions to their subjects defining strictly the limits of the royal prerogative and the extent of the popular privileges. If they can make up their minds to take this decisive step they will immensely advance the cause of Indian nationalism and will firmly establish themselves in the respect and loyalty of their subjects as well as of the British Indians.

When that blessed day will come we shall surely owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. A. P. Nicholson, the author of the "Scraps of Paper" for marshalling with conspicuous ability all

Reviews

Ancient Indian Fasts and Feasts.—Rai Bahadur A. C. Mukerji, M.A., I.E.S. *Macmillan & Company, Ltd., Revised Edition. 1930. Re. 1-8.*

This is the fourth edition of a book which originally appeared under a slightly different title. An account of Hindu fasts and feasts (the Rai Bahadur describes here 20 of them) is an indispensable help towards understanding the Hindu view of life, the code of Hindu religion,—so much place do they take up in the normal conduct of a member of Hindu society. The book is a substantial step towards such a study, along with other remarkable books on the subject,—*Feasts and Holidays of the Hindus and Muhammadans* (Calcutta, 1914), *Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials* by Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte (Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co., 1916), and *The Hindu Religious Year* by Mr. Underhill (Association Press, 1921).

The style is lucid and the book is well-planned, the ceremonies have been graded according to the season of the year in which they are timed to occur, from the end of *Pous* to the *Purnima* of *Kartik*; the month of *Agrahayana* being a period of mourning; as being the month when Ram had been banished, it was considered to be specially unlucky. Even those who look out only for entertainment will find an abundant supply of their food in the volume under review.

P. R. S.

Personal Problems of Conduct and Religion—By J. G. Mackenzie, M.A., B.D.—George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., pp. 144., *5s.* net.

The title of the book is too apt to engender the suspicion at the very outset that it is a piece of casuistical literature, and, as such, amenable to the criticisms justly enforced against what is known as the science of 'casuistry' by the French Mathematician and Philosopher, Pascal, in the seventeenth century, and repeated ever since. Dealing, as it does, with ' the application of psychological knowledge to concrete difficulties with which any one may meet,' the book does yet evince a scientific treatment of problems all through. The concrete cases to which the author refers are typical ones; and his mode of treating them is singularly attractive. It is not that he calls up these concrete cases just to substantiate some

abstract thesis or pet theory of his own, but it is these concrete instances and individuals, in whom he is primarily and pre-eminently interested, that supply the necessary incentive to his search for psychological theories, and their subsequent application to these concrete situations. What is particularly refreshing about the author's treatment of the problems is that his approach to these, all and sundry, is not that of a theorist, nor is it that of a quack administering patent *recipes* to cure ailments of the soul, superficially similar. From the beginning to the end, what is in evidence is the trained insight of the expert which seldom fails to do justice to the individuality of each case. Moreover, he does not, in strict accordance with his professed aim, bring together herein varieties of religious experience and problems in a preponderately theoretical interest. His is not clearly the function to evolve, but to solve, the problems of religious life —and this he seeks to do, not by summoning to his aid the whole armoury of technicalities in the keeping of the special sciences, but by popularising the latest achievements of these in a way acceptable to the lay people. In this he has all along preserved a judicious balance and exhibited a sense of proportion, the importance of which cannot possibly be exaggerated. While in its attempt to be popular, the book has not degenerated into a pseudo-science, it has not, on the other hand, remained severely technical and academic, cut off from the moorings of daily life. Nor would it be just to represent it as a clinic of psycho-therapeutics. All things taken together, the book in question should fitlier be styled, "Applied Psychology of the Religious Life."

The suspicion which is likely to invade the reader at the sight of the title wears off as one gets to the end of the very first chapter. One is here filled with admiration at the astonishing variety of topics traversed in quick succession within the range of eighteen chapters, each of which covers not more than eight pages. Though inspired by the same ideal, these chapters do not bear on one continuous theme. They are, however, bound each to each by a missionary zeal, illustrative in the end of the triumph of the 'adventure of faith.'

We are introduced in Chapter I to 'Our Immediate Problem'—which is, ' not what happens to us that matters, but how we reach to it.' Truly, it is not the *why* but the *how* of things that is the engrossing concern of the scientists to-day; and here in the very first chapter we are acquainted with the earnest of scientific outlook which the author brings to bear on the concrete difficulties of the religious life. In Chapter II, the author rightly dwells on the message of the ' Incomplete Life' for the religious consciousness of man. All religious reform, all social service,

all ethical endeavour must for ever remain truncated, until and unless they have for their coping-stone "the new relationship to God, the 'rightness' with God from which all else follows." Hence the importance of the watchword 'Get right with God,' and all else will follow as a matter of course. Expressed in a homelier language the injunction means this: "Put the central thing in the centre and everything will fall of themselves into their respective positions." In dealing with 'An Adolescent Problem' (which is the topic of Chapter III), he rightly gives the initial warning that 'it is neither the feelings nor impulses that constitute our real danger; it is the manner in which we react to them.' Accordingly, the solution of this adolescent problem would lie not in the direction of concentrating and enlarging on our congenital weaknesses but in invoking what Channings called the 'expulsive power of a higher affection' or what our author prefers to call 'a creative relationship with Christ.' This explains why one should, in an ethical or religious interest, insist 'on forming new habits' (Chap. IV), that is good habits, in order to conquer bad ones. For, psychologically speaking, 'we cannot break a habit; we can only create a new one.' No less formidable is 'the problem of growing up' (Chap. V) or rearing up 'children to become adjusted to their social environment and to the demands of their own nature.' Now, it is *prima facie* impossible to put forward a cut-and-dried scheme for training children. All that one can do is to indicate, in very general terms, the essentials of such training. In the interest of moral or religious instruction, for example, 'it is much more important to give the growing child an interest in God than a ready-made idea of Him.' The general hint that may be given is that the growing child should be helped "to be praiseworthy whether he gains the praise of men or not." With his remarkable gift of intellectual sympathy, our author rightly divines 'what our young people are thinking' (Chap. VI) and points out that just as the Oxford movement is in danger of losing itself in subjectivity and emotionalism, our young people of to-day are heading towards an 'intellectual humanitarianism' which 'will not give an adequate motive for their self-imposed task either of realising the ideal in themselves or society.' At this juncture he tries to re-orient our outlook under the caption of 'Christ and World' (Chap. VII). Just to rally the sceptically disposed, our author preaches 'the inwardness of religion and morality that Christ revealed, not their dogmatic form.' No one can reasonably expect any religion to provide one with 'copy-book headings' for the guidance of one's moral or religious life. The same outlook is contained in Paul's exhortation: "All things are yours because ye are Christ's and Christ is God's." In his treatment of 'Temptation and Church-going',

(Chap. VIII)—a rather queer combination—he preaches a humanising gospel, taking temptation to be the very index of our human self-hood. 'It is only when the soul is spiritually dead that temptations cease to trouble us. Temptation is not sin.' On the contrary 'temptation is always a challenge to the youth to give his soul a chance to control all his desires and instincts.' What he here prescribes, as a trained psycho-analyst, is the cultivation of those 'sentiments' which 'inhibit the temptations' and not the 'repression' of desires. For 'repression only drives the desire inwards; control has always the tendency to crush it out altogether.' With reference to 'our regrets and fears' (Chap. IX), it is wisely observed that 'to occupy the mind with vain regrets of the past is to shut out the possibility of evaluating the present.' Among 'the troubles of old age' (Chap. X). brooding and despondency are the most troublesome, and the only bulwark that one can set up against the invasion of these is the unshakable faith that 'it is not our love to God that saves us but God's love to us' for 'it is the knowledge that we are loved that always stimulates love and makes it grow deep and strong.' In his 'Psychology of Sleeplessness' (Chap. XI), we are favoured with expert opinion on the subject. The first hint that he gives is: 'Never try to go to sleep' for 'there is no greater danger to sleep than the fear that we shall not sleep.' Indeed, the surest way of chasing away sleep is to go a-courting it. The paradox of sleeplessness, like the paradox of hedonism, demands the recognition that the best way to get sleep is to forget it altogether. On the positive side, auto-suggestion is another 'effective method' of inducing sleep. In his treatment of 'the Delinquent child' (Chap. XII), he has given unmistakable evidences of his acquaintance with latest researches on the subject *e.g.*, those of Dr. Cyril Burt, and calls for patient circumspection in finding out 'the *why* before one can answer the *how*.' All the practical hints that he gives here for dealing with cases of juvenile delinquency are tuned to the same key of sympathetic understanding. If souls are ever in the making, the question that naturally suggests itself, as it did of old to St. Paul: 'Are we clay in the Potter's hands' (Chap. XIII) ? Having construed, in the manner of Browning, 'that metaphor' of 'Potter's Wheel,' an author makes the interesting observation that 'we are driven by necessity, but it is the prerogative of man to choose the necessity that is to drive him.' The rallying-point, however, of his different observations is the 'psychology of faith' (Chap. XIV), which makes an initial separation between 'the logical meaning' and the 'psychological meaning' of faith, and thus seeks to avert a confusion of issues. 'It is the faith-state and not the body of beliefs which the psychologist studies; and if one may say so, it is in this faith-state

that the blessings of religion come.' The need of forming clear and distinct ideas is forced into prominence in view of the 'false antithesis' of which the problem of faith is a typical instance. One may recount other instances of such false antithesis—that between 'man and woman' 'science and religion' or 'mysticism and logic.' But 'the opposite of man is not woman; the opposite of man is *beast*. Woman is the complement of man; she is man on the female side as the word itself denotes. How many centuries of repression have women undergone because of this false antithesis!" Similarly, 'the opposite of science is not religion but superstition; and the opposite of religion is not science but Godlessness.' Again 'the opposite of faith is not reason but *sight*, a refusal to trust anything which cannot be discerned by the senses.' Faith, then, 'is neither the opposite of reason nor science, but the dynamic energy behind both.' The distinction between 'faith' and 'belief,' which the author seeks to enforce, seems to be a hair-splitting one. If faith is accepted as a 'will-attitude.' belief is simply 'readiness to act'; and between the two there is only distinction without a difference. No less important and enthralling is his categorical answer to the burning question of the day: 'Does Christianity need Christ' (Chap. XV)? Following Harnack who once said: 'Christ could think of no higher task than to point men to Himself,' our author says: 'To me Christianity is Christ.' 'The essence of Christian life is not a man's relation to what Christ taught, but an experience of Christ Himself.' Without the 'indwelling presence,' this 'abiding presence and persuasion of the Soul of souls,' as Martineau would say, 'you do not so much as touch the threshold of religion.' Having threaded his way with unmistakable precision through the tangle-wood of the so-called 'Higher' (or shall I say 'lower'?) criticism of the Bible, of Psychologism and Modernism, our author makes the journey to the promised land, and lays his finger on the fulcrum about which the whole thing turns. Truly, "the whole doctrine centres on Christ," and the penetrative call: "Follow me." From the very heart of the *Bhāgavad Gītā*, which is the Bible of every cultured Hindu, a similar call has gone forth with the same demand for undivided loyalty to Lord Krishna: 'Having forsaken all else, betake thyself to Me and to Me alone.' It is from the living response to such a call that religion draws its chief inspiration. 'Religion is neither taught nor caught; it is evoked; it is elicited; it is the response of a soul to a Soul.' He then proceeds to sum up his attitude towards Christ, in 'Christ—Teacher or Lord?' (Chap. XVI)! Just as 'our bodies are the means of communication between minds' so is Christ 'the bridge whereby the Eternal Being gets

across to our souls.' In expressing this fellowship 'our failure to find an adequate formula is not because he is just human, but because He is divine.' In 'God, prayer and immortality' (Chap. XVII) he finds incontestable evidences of the soul of man 'which gives the meaning' to these concepts. In tackling the rather ticklish question 'why people do go to church' (Chap. XVIII), the author judiciously concentrates on the 'psychological reasons' as against 'the rational grounds.' As William James once said that 'the reason why we do pray is simply that we cannot help praying,' so also 'we go to church because we must.'

The string of discourses gathered in the form of the book under review is interspersed with sparkling gems of thought that present the daily round of our duties in a transfigured light. Nothing more is expected from a book of this kind, as also nothing less.

S. K. Das

Ourselves

Srijukta Swarnakumari Devi

The death of Swarna Kumari Devi removes from Bengal one of its most brilliant daughters. Born in 1856 in a family of wide, liberal culture, the Jorasanko Tagore family, she was associated as the editor with the *Bharati*, a foremost Bengali journal which was by itself an event in the history of Bengali literature, for more than a quarter of a century, from 1884 to 1895, and again from 1906 to 1920. She wrote a number of historical and social novels, dramas and poems which were widely appreciated both on account of their romantic setting and a classical style. Her *gathas* or Bengali ballads were a successful experiment in a new line. In all the branches of women's activity she was a pioneer, and her services to Bengali literature were gracefully recognised by the University of Calcutta by the award of the Jagattarini Gold Medal in 1926. She retained her intellectual powers undimmed to the end and presided over the Bengali Literary Conference in 1930 held last time at Bhowanipore. She would have completed her 76th year in August next, and there was a move to give her a public ovation on the occasion of her next birthday, but a sudden attack of influenza intervened and proved fatal. She breathed her last on July 3, 1932, about 10 in the morning. May her soul rest in peace.

* * *

Mokshadasundari Gold Medal 1933

AND

Nalinisundari Gold Medal 1933

The Mokshadasundari Medal for 1933 will be awarded for the best essay written in Bengali by a lady graduate of this University on the subject—

"Female Education in Pre-British days"

or

"Asoka"

The Nalinisundari Medal for the year 1933 will be awarded for the best poem written in Bengali by a lady graduate of this University on the subject—

"Brindaban"
or
"Chand Bibi"

Every candidate for each of the two aforesaid medals shall be required to submit, not later than 30th November, 1933, an essay or a poem, as the case may be, on the subjects specified above to the Controller of Examinations, Calcutta University, under a distinguishing motto. The name of the candidate must also be forwarded at the same time in a sealed envelope with the motto outside.

* * *

MATRICULATION EXAMINATION, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Matriculation Examination, 1932, was 19,174 of whom 107 were absent, 5 were disallowed and 92 were transferred to other centres. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 18,970 of whom 13 were expelled.

The number of candidates who passed the examination is 12,452 of whom 4,860 passed in the First Division, 5,405 in the Second Division and 2,143 in the Third Division. The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 37.

The percentage of passes is 65·7.

* * *

L. T. EXAMINATION, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the L. T. Examination, 1932, was 7 of whom 7 passed.

Of the successful candidates, 5 passed with Distinction.

* * *

B. T. Examination, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the B. T. Examination, 1932, was 94 of whom 81 passed, 12 failed and one was absent.

Of the successful candidates 18 passed in the First Division.

* * *

Preliminary Scientific M. B. Examination, April, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Preliminary Scientific M. B. Examination, April, 1932, was 202 of whom 131 passed, 68 failed, 3 expelled and *nil* absent.

* * *

First M. B. Examination, April, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the First M. B. Examination, April, 1932, was 171 of whom 128 passed, 41 failed, *nil* expelled and 2 absent.

* * *

Second M. B. Examination, April, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Second M. B. Examination held in April, 1932, was 96 of whom 73 passed, 23 failed, *nil* expelled and *nil* absent. One has obtained Honours marks in Pathology.

* * *

Third M. B. Examination, April, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Third M. B. Examination, April, 1932, was 126 of whom 101 passed, 24 failed, *nil* expelled and 1 absent.

6 candidates obtained Honours in Hygiene.

* * *

Final M. B. Examination, April, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Final M. B. Examination held in April, 1932, was 249 of whom 103 passed, 142 failed, 4 absent and none expelled.

* * *

Dvivedi Commemoration Volume

We are very glad to publish the following appeal and earnestly hope that the invitation thus made will find hearty response from all parts of the country :—

Dvivedi Commemoration Volume

(An appeal to scholars and literary men)

Hindi is the Lingua Franca of our country. It is the mother-tongue of 100 millions of people and an equal number of people belonging to non-Hindi-speaking provinces, can speak and follow it. In other words, it has under its sway two-thirds of the entire Indian population. It also possesses the most extensive, important and excellent classics among all the Indian languages and some of these masterpieces occupy an honourable place in world literature. Its modern literature is growing healthily and vigorously, the seed of which was sown 50 years ago by our renowned and versatile literateur, Bhartendu Harish Chandra. But it was not until 30 years ago that its proper nurturing and development commenced under the able and capable guidance of Acharya Mahavira Prasada Dvivedi, who forms the subject-matter of this appeal.

He has devoted in a most selfless and disinterested manner 25 years of his life to the cause and has rendered extremely valuable and memorable service in building up the modern Hindi literature. The modern Hindi prose and poetry in all their phases bear a permanent impress of his master hand.

It is the duty of the Nation to pay its homage to his literary genius by celebrating his septuagenary which comes off in the next May in a proper and befitting manner. The Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Benares which is the foremost literary society of Hindi has therefore, undertaken this task. In this connection it has been arranged to bring out a suitable commemoration volume of a very high literary and artistic quality, displaying all the individuality of our Ancient Land.

I therefore beg to invite all the foremost and prominent scholars and savants of every branch of learning, poets and authors, writers and composers to be pleased to join hands with the Sabha in the great undertaking and contribute to the volume, anything on their own subject or of their choice and honour a great literary man and thus strengthen the bonds of Inter-Provincial literary brotherhood and fraternity.

General Secretary,
Nagari Pracharini Sabha,
Benares City.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1932

INDIA'S DUTY AT OTTAWA—PART ONE

Sir Jehangir Coyajee's few but spirited arguments for reciprocity,[1] if not preference, and Mr. Walchand Hirachand's vehement protest against the personnel of the deputation to Ottawa and his passionate plea for leaving the determination of future fiscal policy to India's Legislative Assembly alone, raise the future fiscal policy to an imperative issue on which clear-cut notions ought to exist. Since Sir Basil Blackett referred to this old economic nostrum of Imperial Preference[2] several Indian economists and official apologists have been advocating the above measure. A sort of backdoor admittance of Imperial Preference idea took place while protection has been recommended against Japanese competition by the Indian Legislative Assembly even though the preferential export duty on hides and skins proved a miserable failure.[3] The grant of preference to British steel goods is another instance of the application of Preference idea in our country.

[1] Reciprocity means the cementing of a tariff bargain to extend advantages by means of negotiation of agreements.

[2] Imperial Preference means the adoption of the practice of setting up a tariff either for revenue or protection. Without impairing the primary motive duties are raised in the case of non-empire goods. Protection is not given up. Duties are not raised as bargaining counters. Internal development and not retaliation is the key-stone of the Imperial Preference idea.

[3] From 1919 to 1923 the Imperial rebate existed in the case of export duty on hides and skins. But it did not assist the tanning industry. It injured England's entrepot trade.

The almost parlous condition of the premier Indian industries brought about by successive labour strikes, lack of cheap means of communication, loss of overseas markets and failure to rationalise the industries has been the subject of constant enquiries by the Tariff Board itself and a policy of discriminating protection has been inaugurated since the formation of the Tariff Board. Whether this mild form of protection has succeeded in restoring health and granting a new lease of life to the threatened industries cannot of course be discussed at the present moment. The prevailing sentiment is to put India's interests first. India first, India second and India third is the prevailing craze of all patriotic Indians.

The Government of India's recent circular attempts to mobilise Indian commercial interests and their opinion on the topic of Imperial Preference. The very selection of reciprocites and Preference approvers as delegates to Ottawa indicates which way the wind blows. A change of fiscal policy might not be an impossible thing. But a change of this fiscal policy for Empire free trade or Imperial Preference proposal even when the Dominions themselves are not so very enthusiastic about Imperial Preference and pooh-pooh the idea of self-contained Empire, would lead India nowhere. The adoption of a policy of reciprocity even connotes a change from the present "discriminating protectionist policy."

Changed Economic Conditions.

The changed economic conditions of the world no doubt warrant a change in the traditional doctrines of economic thought. The hegemony of free-trade doctrine has been swept away by Imperial Preference idea. Finding herself protected to a great extent under the shelter of preferential tariffs the cry has been raised in England that Imperial Preference ought to be adopted as the general policy of the mother country, the Colonies and the Dominions. "The most favoured nation clause" itself is

being deprecated and the consensus of opinion is to advocate an Empire Customs Union immediately if such a radical policy is feasible. The idea is to bring about a British Zollverein, o ensure the industrial leadership of Great Britain by retaining the vast Empire countries as a market for its manufactured goods. The Empire raw materials are to benefit the British or Empire producers and the Empire industry. The whole British Empire is to form one Great Customs Union, one vast political and economic complex styled the British Commonwealth of Nations whatever its implications from the international or national standpoint might be. Men and money are to be provided by the mother country. The Colonies and the Dominions are to provide the markets and have a share in the prosperity of a closely-knit Empire. The older ideas of assisted emigration and advancing money free of interest for a few years which were tried with much success during 1815 to 1830 are revived once again in a somewhat modified form. The long distances within the Empire are being overcome by the new taxi-cab—the aeroplane—which is becoming as powerful as the English language itself in acting as a great unifier within the Empire. Industries of the mother country are establishing themselves freely in the Dominions. A systematic and well-concerted drive is now being aimed at to realise the consummation of British Economic Empire.

The present-day economic conception of British Commonwealth of Nations has been carefully stated by the late Sir Alfred Mond (later Lord Melchett) in his *Industry and Politics*. He writes that "its resources in raw materials are almost infinite. Its population is gigantic and its potential consumption capacity is unexplored. The British as a nation whose occupation now as against the rest of the world is the production of manufactured goods for export has within the Empire the markets for the adoption of their manufactured goods. The various component parts of the Empire which are in some essentials raw material already actually and in others vastly potentially the chief source of supply for the world's industries, seek markets for their natural

products. Within Britain the Empire has its markets on the basis of free exchange of products." Imperial consolidation and arrangement with international peace and co-operation is the key-stone of the British economic policy. L. S. Amery argues that as Free Trade is an immoral policy at least reciprocal protective duties ought to be enacted. Lord Beaverbrook argues emphatically for Empire economic unity. The old fear [1] that food would become dear to the British consumer is being disproved and is considered to be baseless as Empire countries are teeming with vast potential supplies of food products which can be rationally exploited and a British tariff against non-Empire foodstuffs might be a possible certainty in the near future. Another rational economic argument adduced by these neo-protectionists is that goods produced by foreign nations which grant low wages and exploit their workers mercilessly to secure competitive advantage in Empire countries, where prevail higher conditions of the standard of life among the workers ought to be heavily penalised by the levying of a high tariff wall.

Big Areas.

Indian people have to look a long way into the future and at no other period of our history are long views as essential in the affairs of this country as at the present moment. As against the great American Union the European states are endeavouring to build up a European Customs Union. The attempts on the part of the German Steel Trust and the Belgian and the French Iron and Steel Industry and potash and chemical industries of Europe

[1] The present position is that Great Britain is enjoying the Dominion privilege without giving anything adequate in return for it. Food is not taxed. If Great Britain were to have protection it would be treating the Dominions literally as foreign countries though they have granted already some preferences for the last thirty years. The National Government has recently enacted a protective tariff and ten per cent. tariff has been kept in suspense in case of entry of Dominion goods. This is the only belated response shown by Great Britain. The moment the Dominion goods are taxed all talk of preference ends and retaliation might ensue on the part of the Dominions.

is to form one European economic unit so as to withstand the American menace. The situation is resolving itself plainly into the United Economic States of Europe *versus* the United States of America. Joint action in taxation, tariffs and industry is the method advocated to achieve this European complex. No country can afford to stand on independent legs and hope to achieve permanent industrial salvation by a policy of economic insulation. India has to join the Empire Customs Union as her political rulers wish to do or select the policy of becoming entirely a vigorous nationalistic country seeking to establish new industries and solve the widespread malady of unemployment which is tending to become more and more disastrous in its effects as a result of increasing mechanisation process in a number of manufacturing industries.

Gains to the Empire.

The economic policy of joining the Customs Union is the adoption of the Imperial Free Trade and permitting the free entry of goods and materials within the borders of the Empire without let or hindrance. Each part has to specialise in the line where it has the greatest advantage. Thereby the Empire can easily increase the industrial output and increase the happiness of the producers by widening the market for their goods. The Empire at the present moment controls 27 per cent. of the world's wheat production, 60 per cent. of the world's rice production, 51 per cent. of the world's production of sheep, 53 per cent. of the world's population of cattle, 69 per cent. of the world's gold, 42 per cent. of the world's tin, 88 per cent. of the world's nickel, 15 per cent. of the world's silver, 30 per cent. of the world's zinc, 23 per cent. of the world's lead, 77 per cent. of the world's wool supply and 87 per cent. of the world's rubber supply. Except a revenue tariff which might incidentally yield an iota of protection no deliberately planned high protective duty is to be imposed against co-member Empire units. Thus viewed the total wealth of the Empire can be easily augmented to an astonishing value.

Immediate and present-day maladjustments in the matter of Empire's world trade would be corrected in course of time.

Specific Gains to India.

There is no gainsaying of the fact that the free use of the raw materials, the securing of market for some kinds of produce as cotton, tea, coffee, hides and skins, tobacco and rice and the avoiding of Japanese or American industrial penetration would greatly strengthen the economic position of this country.

A quota basis of complementary production in the matter of existing or new industries which can be developed on the lines suggested by L. S. Amery [1] a free and unrestricted outlet for the surplus population and the scientific adjustment of the present-day administrative part of the fiscal machine, *i.e.*, Indian tariff and a lowering of it, if justified by the revenue position of the country, are the immediate advantages that India can hope to secure by joining the Imperial Free Trade League.

Empire capital can be freely invested in India for furthering Indian Economic development and the starting of industrial ventures under experienced and efficient entrepreneurs would be a very desirable gain so long as monopolistic powers are not granted to them and indigenous supervisory and technical labour is not discarded.

Some kind of organised buying by import boards from Empire countries alone would practically stimulate the realisation of this conception. Of course many men who value their freedom would dislike being ordered about by Government to buy only this article or that. The economic possibility of securing import goods at world-price level would be impossible but if we consider the State as the guardian of every form of

[1] Such a thing exists in the case of the Steel Industry of Canada and the Steel Industry of Great Britain. To broaden this policy and secure Inter-Imperial rationalisation of industries is the objective.

human relationship there ought to be no murmur against this policy. The campaigning on the part of the Imperial Marketing Board and the cry of "buy British Goods" alone can be justified on this ground.

Nextly the Dominions might give us a better *quid pro quo* in the matter of political rights enjoyed by Indian emigrants or settlers in their Dominions if their trade is encouraged with India.

Finally competition amongst the different Empire export producers would be eliminated. Witness for example, Indian pig iron being sold at lesser prices than Belgian or English Iron and Steel products.

Outstanding Difficulties.

But has the idea of Empire economic co-operation been fully worked out? How many of the Indian interests would be damaged? What would be the resultant effects of this policy on our trade with non-Empire countries? Our exports, being purely of a raw material character, would not receive a great injury even if retaliation were to be thought of by non-Empire countries. Are the Dominions willing to grant real Preference and reciprocate any such tendencies on the part of the members of the Empire? So far as Canada is concerned Mr. Bennett, the Prime Minister of Canada has said long ago "I stand four-square behind the policy of Canada first." While increasing ten per cent. its general tariffs he granted ten per cent. preference to Empire countries for a like preference in theirs. But he was cautious enough to add that the fundamental basis of his action is adequate protection to industries now existing or yet to be established. He was not only explicit enough in his statement that protection would not be weakened even if preferential tariff is advocated but he has plainly stated that "the proposed preference cannot be considered as a step towards Empire Free Trade." He added that "in our opinion Empire Free Trade is neither desirable nor possible for it would defeat the very purpose we are striving to achieve." This is the Dominion

conception of the British-ollverein. Every Dominion naturally wishes "to have short circuit between raw materials and industries instead of establishing the Imperial circuit." Evidently it does not come up to full free trade conditions in the vast areas of the Empire as the British Federation of Industries would like it to be. The old Indian Fiscal Commission Report emphasises somewhat blandly this home truth that Imperial Preference or reciprocity does not weaken the protectionist policy of the country. As India similarly aspires like Canada to become an adept in the matter of advanced industrial technique so as to check the excessive dependence on agriculture, the preservation of the vast potential market for infant industries has to be done. It is now being done either by the Government with the policy of discriminating protection or by the public who are freely showing their sympathy by their policy of swadeshism and economic boycott. It must however be borne in mind that the existing policy is not to bolster up inefficient industries or create an unnatural and forced industrial development by refusing to part with raw materials of industry to be manufactured elsewhere.

Apart from the natural desire of every Dominion to manage its own industrial policy and destiny, diversify its industrial activity and develop certain key industries which forms a real obstacle in the realisation of the interests of the Empire Free Trade idea, silly sentimental objections generally stand in the way of envisaging the distant future. Tariff bargaining would perhaps militate against the existing tendencies or bonds of kinship between the Dominions and the Empire or amongst the different members of the British Empire.

Again reciprocal tariffs cannot be easily arranged. It requires a lot of higgling and huckstering. Prolonged and cumbersome negotiations have to be undertaken to arrange reciprocal tariffs. The recent Canada-New Zealand butter episode illustrates the inherent difficulties of the situation. In 1931 New Zealand placed all Canadian imports on the general

tariff list and refused to grant British preferential rates since Canada failed to reduce the duty on New Zealand butter and failed to arrive at any satisfactory agreement regarding reciprocal tariffs.

If the idea of Empire economic union scheme is to be realised by developing Empire free trade it runs counter to the cherished ambitions of the Dominions which aim to develop the present and new industries. The existence of revenue tariff must be granted and its necessity understood. Under such conditions real and substantial advantage will not be forthcoming by the Empire Free Trade conception. It is not within the range of practical politics for the different economic units represent dissimilar economic entities.

The recent fall in world prices has acted adversely on all the countries. Neither the Dominions nor India would give up protection just at present when special difficulties are being experienced by the industries as a result of the disastrous fall in prices.

Economically viewed no country can hope to maintain a self-contained entity. Human wants constantly tend to increase. The standard of life is always a dynamic movement and to exclude the raw materials of non-Empire and attempt to develop them within the Empire alone would be futile. All the Dominions have vast ramifications in the matter of foreign trade with non-Empire countries. The Empire roughly absorbs 50 per cent. of the exports of the Dominion alone and if non-British empire countries were to retaliate there would be grave diminution of the export trade[1] which might not be absorbed by the Empire countries alone.

[1] For instance the President of the U.S.A. is empowered to retaliate against foreign discrimination and this is contained in S. 338 of the tariff Act of 1930 or the Smoot-Hawley Tariff as it is known. He may subject to limits impose additional duties on articles wholly or in part the growth of product of or imported in vessel of any foreign country when it is found that unfair treatment is accorded to American exports or American commerce is being discriminated and if further discrimination is attempted he may exclude from importation any article into the U. S. A. See Huebner and Kramer, "*Foreign Trade*," p. 64.

Finally the politico-economic situation of the Indian people as helots in the Empire is the main stumbling block and the only strong impediment in the way of accepting the Empire ideal and all that it connotes including Free Trade within the Empire. The political malcontents would easily say that it is no part of India's duty to maximise Empire's wealth if the benefits were to be concentrated in the hands of the White portion of the Empire or Great Britain alone.

A Workman-like Solution.

Of whatever nature the resolutions arrived at Ottawa might be it behoves us to consider the significance of the scheme, and the Tariff Board should easily examine and analyse the situation of the different export industries. Everything imported should similarly be subjected to a scrutinising analysis. A thorough exploration of this ideal has to be carried out afresh. Take for example the recent preferential tariff in the case of cotton import duties. Apart from the fact that it clearly proves that our much vaunted fiscal autonomy is a mere misnomer, the duty has neither helped Lancashire nor protected effectively the Bombay cotton mill producers whose recent wail against Japanese dumping is well-known to all students of economics. The expected revivification of either the Lancashire industry or the Bombay mill industry has not been forthcoming. Both need effective rationalisation and vigorous and up-to-date methods of marketing in a manner suitable to the needs of the consumers. Thus the above example of imperial preference would neither prove nor disprove the case of general preferential or reciprocal tariffs. As the Indian consumer has been hard hit by the recent protectionist wave which has granted protection to sugar, pig iron, steel, [1] cotton, paper, etc., it would be the height of wisdom if all the specific products suffering from external competition are pointed

[1] See the Second report of the Tariff Board on the Steel Industry (pp. 151-153), which admits clearly the loss to the consumers.

PART TWO

EMPIRE CURRENCY.

Present-day Reasons for reviving this Old Ideal.

Besides individual arm-chair economists[1] and bankers[2] of the stamp of Mr. Darling other fully representative associations like the Empire Economic Union,[3] the Federation of British Industries and the London Chamber of Commerce have been clamouring for fixity of exchange relations amongst the different countries of the Empire. Since the banker, Mr. Darling, mooted this idea of Empire Consols in 1929 the idea of monetary co-operation in the British Economic Empire has been gaining steady ground. But prior to this he advocated the idea of Empire Currency in the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923. Undaunted by any of his previous reverses he has once again taken up this ideal as soon as the gold standard had to be given up in 1931. It is indeed true that his idea of the Empire Pound was hatched in 1930 as a preventive measure against the shortage of gold but it did not receive wide cognisance until the value of silver degenerated into a hopeless muddle. The recent breakdown of the gold standard, or as Prof. Keynes humorously remarks "its inability to pull on with sterling," has necessitated the rediscussion of Empire exchange stability afresh. The fallen and fluctuating pound sterling dislocated world trade as well as Empire trade. Imperial monetary reorganisation would be another important subject that would engross the attention of the Ottawa Conference. The full implications of Empire Currency scheme would therefore have to be digested by the Indian public.

[1] Sir Robert Horne rightly remarks, "We are in a position to become the centre of a great area of the world trading on a sterling basis and pouring new life-blood into the commerce of the nations." See his address to the Glasgow Constituency.

[2] See his Currency Co-operation in the British Empire—Economic Unity of the Empire—Empire Consols—A New International Currency—The Rex.

[3] Report on Empire Currency and Financial Policy.

Mr. Darling's Scheme.

Briefly stated the idea is to stabilise imperial exchanges by the starting of an Empire Bank which ideal can be attained by reconstituting the Bank of England as an enlarged Empire Bank, with additional capital subscribed by the Dominions, in return for which they may get representation on the Board of Directorate of the Empire Bank. The branches of this bank are to be located in the different Dominions. The gold and silver resources of the Empire would have to be pooled in the hands of the Empire Bank. The metallic reserve of the Bank can be composed of gold and silver in the ratio of one to twenty. The Dominion note issue would have to be regulated by the Empire Bank and imperial exchanges would have to be worked on a system of par somewhat on the model of the Anglo-Egyptian exchanges.

In addition to this feature currency co-operation should extend further in the direction of the creation of Empire Currency Bills which have to be issued and managed by a Currency Commission. These Currency Bills would have to be freely converted into Empire countries' currencies. The currency of a country can be issued against gold or currency bills. A gold reserve of 10 per cent. has to be maintained against the Currency bills. The indebtedness of one Empire country to another would first have to be paid not by freely shipping gold but by exporting Currency Bills in the first instance but these are however freely convertible into gold and *vice versâ*.

Another essential feature of his scheme is the wise creation of credit for mere productive purposes alone and not for financing sheer speculative operations of society. The Credit Boards of the different Dominions ought to regulate their Banking codes and the creation of credit in the sound manner related above.

Expected Advantages.

Mr. Darling would do away with the present-day excessive dependence on gold. In addition to economising gold he would

see credit freed from its narrow basis of gold backing. Empire economic co-operation and stable imperial exchanges would be the desirable results. The British Empire would be freed from the necessity of being drawn behind the chariot wheels of the F. R. system. Rightly created and judiciously used British credit would develop and consolidate the Empire. The present-day excessive dependence on gold being removed the credit of making gold the servant and not master of mankind would fall to the happy lot of the British Empire.

The Outstanding Difficulties.

Whether "the Rex" or new Empire pound will be accepted or not on the lines suggested by Mr. Darling or some other scheme of Empire currency based on managed paper currency basis is formulated one has to understand the difficulties in getting this new-fangled notion accepted by the public. The difficulties are so very many that one almost despairs whether any good will result from a rational discussion of such schemes as these.

Exchange Difficulties.

The great economist and practical banker, Sir Henry Strakosch, summarily dismissed this scheme so early as in 1921 by citing the cardinal economic truth that exchange dislocations are symptoms of the disease rather than the disease itself.[1] What is needed is not to eliminate these exchange difficulties for the economic law is that exchange tends to correct itself. Any hindrance to the natural operation of economic laws would be unwise, suicidal and abortive in the long run. If overborrowing and overspending on the part of any country has to be discerned it is by observing the infallible course of the unfavourable exchanges. This is the writing on the wall and any economist who reads it understands it.

[1] See the Times Trade Supplement, Article on Empire Finance, September 9th, 1921.

An absolute stabilisation of exchanges would not allow the observer to understand the situation. Apart from the fact that it is unwise to interfere with the operation of economic laws or tendencies there exists machinery which is capable of facilitating exchange payments more smoothly than at present, provided the duty of co-operating with the Bank of England is well-nigh understood by these countries. Dominion Central Banking co-operation would be a better panacea than this cumbrous scheme itself.

Politico-economic Objection.

A politico-economic objection raised by the British Treasury is one of the sovereign rights of the Dominions. Empire currency invades the sovereign prerogative of the Dominions.

Issue of Currency Bills.

Thirdly the safe issue of currency bills by a Currency Commission might become impossible if Dominion currencies become subjected to the influence of inflation or deflation. A common link called gold on the basis of which credit and currency are issued would no doubt delimit the possible dangers under this heading. But a too continuous co-operation of the Currency Commission with the Dominion Governments is postulated in this suggestion and this might or might not be forthcoming. The exigencies of Governmental Finance might not brook to listen to the dictates of prudential issues which the Currency Commission would undoubtedly cultivate as a measure of safety.

Normal and Abnormal Credit.

Fourthly, the nice distinction of *A* credit or normal credit for productive purposes and *B* credit or abnormal credit for speculative purposes is already a well-known issue to students of economics. Prof. J. L. Laughlin was one of the first economists to insist on such a subtle difference. Mr. Darling would

reimprint this nice distinction on our minds and inculcate th doctrine afresh that credit has to be used for sheer productiv purposes alone. The most meritorious feature of the schem consists in this insistence of credit creation to run parallel t productive operations of society.

The Gold Industry and the Gold-Producing Countries.

Another objection to the scheme is that South Africa i vitally interested in the stable value of gold.[1] Any schem which unduly economises gold and attempts to do away with it monetary use would be an anathema to the South African gol mining industry. The economy of gold is indeed a world pr blem which requires immediate attention. But if gold were t be demonetised directly or indirectly it would cause havoc to th gold-mining industry which is undoubtedly one of the importar industries of the British Empire.

What of Canada?

Nextly Canada's economic ties are indissolubly connecte with the U. S. A. It would be no mistake to consider Canad as an economic appendage to the U. S. A. The whole of N America can be rightly considered as one vast economic regio where the hegemony of U. S. A. capital interests reigns undis puted. It would be difficult for Canada to sunder these ties Besides Canada is producing gold in increasing quantities o late. As a great gold-producing country she would join hand with South Africa in rejecting any scheme which would under mine the monetary future of gold.

Would London belittle herself?

The financial supremacy of London would dwindle away i she were to protect the interests of mere empire economic unio

[1] See the Article entitled Imperial Monetary Reconstruction, *The Banker*, Decembe 1931.

alone. Endowed with specialising machinery which has a wealth of experience at its back, an honest and efficient banking system, enough capital resources which can be locked up or invested in any part of the world and endowed with true financial instincts, London has been playing the significant and traditional rôle of world's financial leadership with consummate skill and ease.[1] To degenerate from this dignified rôle to that of a petty Empire financier would be too humiliating a task. Will not the Bank of England revolt at this suggestion ?

What if Empire Currency were to Depreciate?

While Imperial Exchanges can be steadied by this method or by any other systematic method of pooling gold as in the case of the Gold Settlement Fund of Washington, the whole exchange situation might not be easily controlled. For a safe conducting of the trading relations with non-empire countries exchange stability is needed. Of course by the well-known arbitrage methods Empire exchanges can be easily steadied even under the present planless methods of conducting inter-imperial trade. There is again the possibility of Empire currency as a whole depreciating in terms of foreign currencies. [illegible] absolute stability of exchange conditions cannot be postulat[illegible] under this scheme which guarantees inter-imperial exchang[illegible] stability.

Existing World Machinery for improving Exchange Situations.

Again the possibility of co-operating with the Bank of International Settlements would stand negatived under the scheme which requires an Empire Bank and allegiance to

[1] Charles Rist, the French Economist, tacitly admits that "pound sterling has fallen like a good soldier fighting for the stability of the currencies of Central Europe. See *Economist*, 3rd October, 1931. See also Dr. Paul Einzig, "*The Tragedy of the 'Pound,'*" opening chapter.

this tin god is the *sine quâ non* of credit and currency co-operation amongst the Dominion countries of the British Empire.

Special Measures affecting India.

While the Empire pound scheme and objections to it have been explained the special provisions with reference to India have to be understood. The unrestricted coinage of silver by the Indian mints and the issuing of sterling by the Empire Bank against a silver backing of 1*s.* 6*d.* per rupee are the cardinal planks of his currency reform. This scheme intends to raise or bolster up the bullion value of the silver Rupee so that the nominal and the intrinsic value would be the same. This would be realised at 48*d.* per ounce. Enhanced monetary demand would have to accomplish this miracle.

Objections to this Scheme.

While detailed attention has been drawn to the diverse plans of stabilisation of the value of silver in another place,[1] attention will therefore be diverted to some salient objections alone. Granted that a stimulus towards minting of the new silver rupee would be imparted it does not solve our monetary problems in any way. The rise in internal prices may be welcome to certain sections of society, *i.e.*, producers—while the consumers would be the chief sufferers. The maintenance of high exchange value for the Rupee would become impossible and extremely difficult under such conditions of furious output of the Indian mints.

Granted that demand for silver would easily ensue, thereby raising the gold value of silver, it might not be the case that the rise would be to the exact figure of 48*d.* an ounce. The opinion is held that the need for bank cover would increase the pressure

[1] See my article on "Stabilisation of Silver."

arising out of unrestricted coinage. So the cryptic figure of 48*d.* an ounce would be realised easily by the silver-producing interests.

Existing Attitude of Central Banks towards Silver Cover.

It is not commonly understood that many of the Central Reserve Banks have already been empowered by existing legislation to have silver bullion or coin in their metallic reserves in some proportion or other to gold. The following table shows the Central Reserve Banks which can keep silver within their vaults.

	Name of the Bank.	How and in what manner can silver be held?
1.	The National Bank of Albania	33 and $\frac{1}{3}$ of its notes can be kept in gold or silver.
2.	The Bank of Belgium ...	Notes can be paid in silver at its market value in gold.
3.	Bolivia	Of the reserve which ought to be 50 per cent. of its notes and deposits silver coin can be kept up to not more than 10 per cent. of Bank notes in circulation *plus* its deposits.
4.	Colombia	Silver coin up to 20 per cent. of the minimum required reserve ratio.
5.	Cuba	American silver coin circulates.
6.	Great Britain	A part of the metallic reserve in silver—5 and $\frac{1}{2}$ ms. pounds silver coin.
7.	Guatemala	One-thirty-three per cent. of the notes in circulation can be kept in silver coin.
8.	Japan	Silver cannot be more than one-fourth of the total reserve.
9.	Mexico	Silver can be kept up to five per cent. of the total reserve.

	Name of the Bank.	How and in what manner can silver be held ?
10.	Java Bank ...	... Silver is unlimited legal tender.
11.	Persia ...	... Notes redeemable in silver alone.
12.	Philippine Islands	... Notes payable in silver and working on the Gold Exchange Standard basis.
13.	Portugal ...	... Silver notes.
14.	Straits Settlements	... Silver circulates as current coin.
15.	Surinam ...	... Silver coins.
16.	Union of South Africa	... Up to 20 per cent. of the reserve can be held in silver specie.
17.	Bank of Yugo-Slavia	... Silver up to any limit fixed by the Minister of Finance acting in consultation with the Minister of Commerce and Industry and the Bank Governor. Notes can be issued up to three times metallic reserve of gold and silver.

(See the League of Nations' publication on Legislation on Gold.)

Mr. Darling's proposals which have been recently echoed by Sir M. De P. Webb insist on the Empire countries amassing silver in their bank-vaults. Barring Great Britain, India and South Africa which can keep silver as part of their metallic reserves, Australia, Canada and New Zealand have to adopt this practice. The enhanced demand for silver would not be very great and the fatuous assumption that silver's gold price would jump to 48*d.* an ounce tantamounts to rather begging the question itself. Unless Governments are forced to buy silver at a high price no sustained rise in its value, enduring for a certain time, would take place. As these lines are being written Reuter informs us that President Hoover has agreed to buy silver at 66 and $\frac{2}{3}$

cents an ounce. If monetary demand were to increase simultaneously with such large-scale purchases it might rise but there is no guarantee that it would stay there for quite a long time. If not, unpleasant contingencies would happen to the Government of India if it were to decide to act upon this suggestion of throwing open the mints for unrestricted coinage of silver. Unrestricted coinage of silver of a note printed on silver, which the rupee would become were its bullion value to be less than its nominal value, cannot be thought of. Were the bullion value to rise higher than 48*d.* the minted rupees would be sent to the melting pot. Stabilisation of the value of silver at 48*d.* an ounce would be essential if unrestricted silver rupee coinage were to be contemplated. The artificial bolstering up of price cannot take place except for a limited period. The moment Government control is relaxed the prices would drift away from the old moorings, *viz.*, 48*d.* level.

Revivification of Purchasing Power.

If the revivification of purchasing power of the Eastern masses be the ideal even then an unqualified assent cannot be given to the proposal for the increased purchasing power need not after all be spent in acquiring western manufactured products alone. The Eastern standard of life is rather markedly low and when additional cash resources were to be placed in their hands a "population use" of their riches might ensue. Their wants being circumscribed to a narrow limit the immediate increase in the sale of western manufactured goods might not be brought about.

Managed Paper Sterling Standard.

While these are the ideals of the advocates of the Empire currency reformers who base their contention on the resurrection

of the better-managed gold standard and the partial remonetisation of silver at least in the Eastern countries, the more radical currency reformers have been advocating the expansion of "managed currency" over the whole of the Empire, if not over the major portion of the world. Scandinavia, South America and other Dominion countries of British Empire have to adopt the sterling standard. Armed with a flexible fiduciary issue and note-issue privilege, a low exchange value of the paper pound sterling,[1] a formidable tariff against imports and an exchange equalisation fund to stabilise the external value of the paper pound sterling these reformers are considering this moment as a god-sent opportunity to enable them to prove to the world the efficacy and practicability of their logical conceptions concerning the superiority of a managed standard as against the supposed "automatic" working of the gold standard regime. These people have been aiming to raise the price-level to the 1928 limit. The stabilisation of the international price level at that height is the *summum bonum* of these advocates. An international understanding and reciprocal measures with reference to the extension of credit and currency have to be brought about.[2]

Respective Abilities.

ight be that successful management of credit and n succeed in a drilled, disciplined and highly integra- g system as that of England. The same amount of ge and suitable machinery for credit control such as the al mechanism and special means do not exist in most of e Dominions of the Empire except in Canada. South Africa, Australia and India have much to learn and accomplish in this

[1] See the Arguments of Prof. J. M. Keynes for a low Exchange, quoted from the monthly review of Midland Bank.

[2] See the representation of London Chamber of Commerce to the Imperial Economic Conference to be held at Ottawa.

direction of solving the manifold problems leading to wise banking development. While the paper pound sterling can be managed almost scientifically no such postulate can be thought of in the case of Dominion currencies. Taking India for example the recent Hilton-Young Commission certifies that the Gold-exchange standard management has not been understood by the Indian people. The higher imaginative flights needed in understanding the tenets of managed currency are denied to most of the Indian public. Stabilisation of currency under such conditions would be an impossible thing. Again Dr. T. E. Gregory raises the pertinent issue that "the interests of all parts of the Empire are not sufficiently identical to accept the working of a currency based on and managed in London." [1]

Price-level is an International Issue.

Another objection to the Empire currency scheme is the fact that the price-level is not a mere Empire matter but an international one. Unless the world influences operating on the price-level are gauged accurately the resiliency needed in adjusting the internal currency policy will not be forthcoming. These difficulties are so inherently great that certain economists have been postulating the possibility of a separate sta currency policy to suit the diverse interests of the the satisfactory maintenance of it whatever might h international field. Prof. Keynes thinks of the feasi ideal and it must be admitted that such management only when people have absolute confidence in the ability, integrity and honesty of the currency managing Board which might consist of representatives of C. R. Bank, the Treasury, the commercial, agricultural and industrial interests of the nation. Barring England no other Dominion of the Empire can hope to envisage the practical consequences of this course of action.

[1] See Dr. T. E. Greogory, The Gold Standard and its Future.

Extraordinary Talent.

Thirdly an Empire monetary Union based on currency management cannot last long even granted that the Board of management is consisting of super-talented individuals. Of course the paper pound sterling of the last six months has been steady in terms of commodity values. How long will the managed currency tend to be stable? Can it be prognosticated? New economic factors may likely complicate the issue.[1] If America were to be off the Gold Standard and if gold were to be demonetised by France, new factors are likely to arise leading to a rise in the value of the paper pound sterling thus automatically reflecting the depreciation in the value of gold. Unless concerted international measures are taken in the matter of resurrecting the gold standard the trading world including the British Empire will not be in smooth waters by such tinkering measures as those of raising the value of silver, the remonetisation of silver and wider extension of the sweeping hold of paper pound sterling over the major Empire countries and those of the world.

A Better-managed Gold Standard.

Mr. McKenna wisely insists on one single fact that "the final abandonment of the gold standard" has not to be advocated. Failing a wise management of international gold standard its inevitable abandonment would have to be faced with equanimity. But until a concerted drive in this direction has been made it cannot be recommended that the gold standard has to be given up. The final report of the League of Nations concerning gold

[1] Such a contingency would not happen if the provisions of the Glass-stecagle Bill for expanding credit can free gold and relax eligibility, provisions for rediscounting are passed into law and action taken on the above lines. The effective supply of money can increase by an enlightened liberal credit policy on the part of the Federal Reserve System as suggested by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Mills.

standard has not been issued as yet.[1] Currency education has not been forthcoming in abundance in order to enable people to realise the highly abstruse notions underlying managed currencies and credit standard. Without this preliminary propaganda it would be a mere leap in the dark if the Ottawa Conference were to recommend the adoption of stabilised currencies based on sterling exchange standard. It might not be so serviceable to the Empire or the Dominions in the long run.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

1 Since then lines have been written, the final report has been issued and it is gratifying to record that the resurrection of the gold standard has been advocated by it.

A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL ATMOSPHERE AROUND MAHAVIRA AND BUDDHA

I. Popular Brahmanism.

The religion to which the general people in India owed allegiance in the sixth century B.C. was a highly artificial cult of sacerdotal formalism from which the spontaneity and simple devotion of the earlier religion of the Hymns were entirely missing. The theology of this popular Brahmanism remained the same as in the Yajur-Veda or the Atharva-Veda but many changes crept into it in matters of detail. Some new gods, a large number of symbolical personifications, spirits, goblins and demons were admitted into the Pantheon. The most important change, however, was in the spirit of this religion.

Instead of fervour, it was now the ceremony of the worship that drew the most attention. It became a priestly cult of formulae and liturgic details. The priest dominated the entire ...s outlook and arrogated to himself a position second only ... gods. The motive of worship was propitiation of the gods and this was to be effected through the good offices of the priest who even claimed to be like unto the gods as, says the *Śatapatha Brahmaṇa*, ii. 2.2.6 and 4.3.14, "There are two kinds of gods; for the gods are gods, and the priests that are learned in the Veda and teach it, are human gods." Sacrifice was extolled to the heavens and to it were attributed miraculous powers. The regular course of natural phenomena were held to be due to details of sacrifice.[1] The attainment of divinity and immortality by the gods was also due to their proficiency

[1] *Ait. Br.* i. 7. 6-12.

in matters of details of the ceremonies.[1] Performance of sacrifice, taught the priests, conferred on the *yajamāna* not only spiritual benefit in the shape of favours of gods, beneficent and noxious, and the right to share the joys of paradise after death, but also health, long life and even destruction of enemies while on earth in this life. The priest's immediate interest was the fees paid by the *yajamāna*, for "the sacrifice goes up to the world of gods, and after it goes the fee which the sacrificer pays ; the sacrificer follows by catching hold of the fee that is given to the priests.[2]

This highly complex and elaborate cultus comprehended the "great sacrifices" and a number of other "domestic rites." The wife of the *yajamāna* had no independent right of worship. Both kinds of sacrifice required the lighting and keeping the sacred fire and daily offerings to it. The "domestic rites" required the lighting of only one fire and the services of one priest while the "great sacrifices" required at least three fires, the lighting whereof was in itself a very complicated and impressive affair, and a number of priests.

The "great sacrifices" consisted of either the *iṣṭis* or the *somayāgas* and in the former offerings of cakes, soups, grain, butter, milk and honey were made to the fire, while in the latter the *soma* or its substitutes when it was unprocurable was to be added to the list. The *Agnihotra*, one of the *iṣṭis*, was performed twice every day. Other *iṣṭis* were performed at stated intervals, on days of the full and new moon, on reaping of the harvests and at the commencement of the seasons. The *Vājapeya* or strengthening beverage, the *Rājasūya* and the *Aśvamedha* are *somayāgas*.

A *somayāga* sometimes took a day or more than a day to perform and in some cases it dragged on to weeks, months, and even to years. In every case it involved enormous expenses

[1] *Tait. Sam.* vi. 3.10.2.

[2] *Śat. Br.* i. 9.3.1.

and most elaborate arrangements; the altar had to be made anew every time with extreme skill in construction. Lavish entertainment of Brahmans, distribution of alms, holding of games, and liberal distribution of fees and presents of gold, garments, cattle and food to officiating priests were parts of the ceremony. It would be apparent that these sacrifices were meant pre-eminently for the wealthy. Another point to be noted in connection with these *somayāgas* is that most of them required animal sacrifice. In the "domestic rites" harmless substitutes such as barley, etc., had taken the place of animal victims but some of the *iṣṭis* and and all *somayāgas* were highly sanguinary. The practice of human sacrifice is also darkly hinted at in many places of the texts. Besides gods, sacrifice was offered also to serpents, air and heaven.[1] It must be noted also that in course of time a humane element began to be felt as the frightfulness of butchering a large number of animal victims was mitigated by either allowing symbolic substitution or by releasing many of the victims after having brought them to the altar or sometimes by dispensing with them altogether.[2]

The "domestic rites" consisted of *saṃskāras* or sacraments, investiture with the sacred thread and study with a teacher, the duties of a householder, and lastly, renunciation of the world.

The *saṃskāras* had to be performed by the father himself for the benefit of his children or have them performed if he was not a Brahman, by a priest. Out of a total of forty, the principal sacraments were the rites of onset of conception, determination of the male sex of the foetus, parting the hair on the expectant mother's head, tasting of honey and ghee on the birth of the child, giving a name to the child, first taking-out of the child for seeing the sun and the moon, giving solid food for the first time to the child, shaving the child's head,

[1] *Aśv. Gṛ. Sūt.* 2.1.9.

[2] *Cf. Ait. Br.* ii. 8 and *Śat. Br.* i. 2.3.6.

giving him the sacred thread, and lastly his marriage which was put off till after the return of the boy as a full-grown youth on completing his studies with a teacher. The initiation was binding on all except women and Śūdras.[1] After marriage the youth entered the householder's stage of life and it was now his duty to establish the sacred fire in his house, maintain it and give offerings to it. He had besides to give offerings every day in honour of the gods and departed ancestors, entertain guests and Brahmans, repeat the sacred texts, mantras and prayers, observe funeral rites in discharge, as it were, of his debts to them, only on the fulfilment of which the happiness in the next world of the souls of the departed was to be ensured. He also observed the different ceremonies at frequent intervals and stated periods and performed other duties and rites of purification, expiation and sanctification. His religious life thus was a long round of fixed ceremonies from day to day, from season to season.

The priestly class had their own interest in this complexity of the sacrificial religion. The priests were careful to lay down the precise fee to be paid by the *Yajamāna* which consisted of valuable garments, cows, horses or gold the number whereof was fixed for each occasion.[2] So keen was the love of gold in the minds of the priests that they declared this precious yellow metal to be the seed of Agni, nay immortality itself, and as such highly suited to be the reward for their holy functions.[3] In one place the fee is prescribed to be one thousand cows but a priest hastens to add "he may give more."[4] Those who could not pay the fees were regarded as mere "fillers of space."

The tyranny of the very complicated cultus was not, however, the whole of the religion. We shall presently see the higher thoughts of the intellectuals of the age. Even within

[1] *Aśv. Gr. Sūt.* i. 19. 8. 9.
[2] *Śat. Br.* iv. 3. 4. 6-7. 14.
[3] *Ib.* ii. 2. 3. 28; iv, 3. 4. 14.
[4] *Ib.* iv. 5. 8. 14.

their own fold the priests had to count such persons like Yājñavalkya of whom it is recorded that when his brother-priests claimed that part of the benefit of the sacrifice should accrue to the officiating priest, Yājñavalkya declared in protest "How can people have faith in this? Whatever be the blessing for which the priests pray, the blessing is for the *yajamāna* alone." [1] He admonishes other priests thus: "Let the priest not say 'guard me' but 'guard the *yajamāna*,'" for if he says 'me' he induces no blessing at all; the blessing is not for the priest but for the *yajamāna*." [2] In their prayer to the Sun other priests said "Give me cows" but Yājñavalkya substituted "Give me light." [3] Another priest, Āsuri by name, when confronted with the direction in the liturgy for the *yajamāna* to shave his head, said, "What on earth has it to do with his head? Let him not shave." [4]

We also find a gradually improving moral tone in the literature of the Brahmanas. Truthfulness, chastity of women, mercifulness and purity of mind came to be regarded as indispensable virtues. "One law the gods observe—truth," and again "To serve truth is to serve the sacred fire; he who speaks truth feeds the fire; he who tells lies pours water on it" [5] and so on. Besides the "forty sacraments" mention is also made of "eight good qualities of the soul," *viz.*, mercy, forbearance, freedom from envy, purity, calmness, correct behaviour, freedom from greed and from covetousness. Observance of the forty sacraments without possessing the eight good qualities was regarded as insufficient for the purpose of entering into union with Brahma "but he who possesses the eight good qualities and but a part of the forty sacraments enters into the heaven of Brahma," says the law-giver Gautama. We have got to take special note of this change of emphasis from faultlessness of the

[1] *Ib.* i. 3. 1. 26.
[2] *Ib.* i. 9. 1. 21.
[3] *Ib.* i. 9. 3. 6.
[4] *Ib.* ii. 6. 3. 14-17.
[5] *Śas. Br.* i. 1. 1. 4 and ii. 2. 2. 19.

observance of details of sacrifice to practice of moral virtues in our study of the influence of Jaina and Buddhist teachings on contemporary religious and philosophical thought.

II. Higher Brahmanical Philosophy.

Yājñavalkya and Āsuri, as we have seen above, felt sceptical about the efficacy of many of the ceremonial detail and there were undoubtedly many like them ; but another class of thoughtful men went further and regarded the ceremonials as quite insufficient and inadequate to answer deep questions of life. They felt they had found something higher than what the religion of sacrifices offered.[1] Their attitude towards the Vedic cult was even one of contempt for we find them describing the worshippers of gods as house-dogs of the gods and the gods being vexed at the discovery of this superior knowledge for it would mean to them loss of their so-called house-dogs.[2] "What is the sacrifice?—brute beasts!" is the exclamation of Yājñavalkya, and again, Yama is described as having his abode in the sacrifice, but the sacrifice in the fees!"[3]

This higher philosophy originated with the Kṣatriyas who taught it to Brāhmaṇs who had hitherto had no knowledge of it but accepted it as something higher than what they possessed.[4] Later on the Brāhmaṇs adopted this philosophy and interpreted it so as to agree with the details of their ceremonies, thus fully incorporating this new doctrine within the frame-work of their ceremonial details.

The principal quest of this new philosophy which is found in the Upaniṣads is the First Cause, the search for which was long and laborious, fixing at first on the forces of Nature, the

[1] *Chānd. Up.* 7. 1; 5. 3. 4; *Kaṭh. Up.* 2. 23.
[2] *Bṛh. Up.* 1. 4. 10.
[3] *Bṛh. Up.* 3. 9. 6; 3. 9. 21.
[4] *Chand. Up.* 5. 11-24, 3 10; 5. 3. 7; 1. 8-9; *Bṛh. Up.* 2. 1; 6. 2. 8; *Kaus. Up.* 4.

elements or the different manifestations of life or the emotions, then passing through the various functions of the reason finally deciding it to be *Brahman* who resides in ourselves as the *ātman*.[1] Atman is the individual soul within us, Brahman is the universal soul and the two are identical—this is the fundamental teaching of the Upaniṣads. Brahman is changeless, eternal, all-pervading, all-comprehending, incomprehensible by our ordinary senses, he is bliss and knowledge. He is truth and infinite; beside him there is nothing else, there is no second outside of him. One who knows him knows everything else just as one who knows a lump of clay knows everything made of clay. He is the creator of this universe, he is the cause of everything, he is beyond good and evil. He is the *ātman* within us and all our sorrows proceed from our not knowing this identity. He causes men to perform good or bad deeds according as he desires their upward and downward progress. The world is rooted in him, he lies at the basis of everything of him is made all things down to a blade of grass. Overcome by the *guṇas* of *prakṛti*, we fall into an illusion and fail to recognise *Brahman* who is within us, hence all our desires, sorrows and sufferings. By the renunciation of desires and destruction of passions, when we realise our identity with the entire world pervaded by *Brahman* our sorrows are ended and we are liberated.[2] The means of obtaining this knowledge are the moral virtues of liberality, right dealing, non-injury to life, truthfulness, etc., and self-restraint and asceticism after retirement from the world in old age.

The Upaniṣads embody no systematic doctrine but are a collection of speculative theories of the age on the deeper questions of life. It is to be specially noted that this high and deep philosophy touched but the outer fringes of the cul-

[1] *Kaus.* 4; *Bṛh. U.* 3. 9. 10-17; 4. 1; *Chand. U.* 5. 11-17; 7. 1-15.

[2] *Bṛh.* 1. 4. 10; 4. 4. 6-7; *Tait.* 1. 9. 2. 9; *Īśa.* 6; *Muṇḍ.* 2. 3. 2; *Chānd.* 3. 17; *Bṛn.* 4. 4. 23; 5. 2.

of sacerdotal formalism practised by the general masses under the direction of the priests, and did not supplant it. This "secret doctrine" was confined within the select few who could profit by it, leaving society in general untouched by its ennobling influence. "This higher religion," to use the words of Radhakrishnan," was swamped by the lower religion" of the priests with all its nonsense and superstition. The priests borrowed the symbols of the Upaniṣads only to add respectability to their elaborate ignorance.

III. Heterodoxical Schools and Sects.

The second stream of thought of the period was represented by numerous teachers, schools and sects who did not recognise the authority of the Vedas or Vedic practices, or were entirely independent of many of the premises and notions of Brahmanism. The literature of both the Jainas and Buddhists contain references to these views.

Jaina Account of Contemporary Sects.

Mahavira divided the philosophical thought of his time broadly into four groups, *viz.*, the Kriyāvādins, the Akriyāvādins, the Ajñānavādins, and the Vinayavādins. By a method of theoretical classification these four groups were again subdivided into three hundred and sixty-three different schools.

The Kriyāvādins were divided into one hundred and eighty schools according as they held the ultimate principle to be Time or God or Soul or Chance or Nature, whether these were eternal or uneternal, and whether these were known by themselves or not known by themselves. By *kriyā* was meant the existence of an active principle.

The Akriyāvādins denied the existence of any active principle and were held to be of eighty-four kinds according to the specific form of the denial.

The Ajñānavādins held that negation of knowledge was the way to liberation for knowledge led to pride and quarrel and that true and correct knowledge was impossible to obtain. They fell under sixty-seven varieties according to their ways of expressing doubt and the questions on which the doubts were expressed.[1]

The Vinayavādins regarded reverence as the cardinal virtue and were of thirty-two kinds according to the person to whom and the manner in which reverence was to be shown.

Schools of thought included in the above classification and yet mentioned separately are, as the commentaries say,

the Ātmaṣaṣṭhavādins who held that the soul is a substance like the other five substances or elements of which the world of matter is composed, and that these elements, the soul being the "sixth," are eternal, unchangeable and indestructible,

the Tajjīvatachharīravādins who held that the five elements are the cause of all that exist but from the combination of which arises another, *viz.*, the soul, which being a product of the five elements and having no independent existence of its own ceases to exist with the dissolution of the physical body and nothing is left over; there is no karma, future life, virtue or vice,

the Nāstikavādins who held that there is no soul; all that exist are the five elements which are eternal and that the questions of future life or good or bad karma do not arise,

the Śūnyavādins who held that all existence is an illusion for in reality nothing exists; all is mere appearance, a mirage, a dream or a phantasy,

the Sātavādins who held that enjoyment of the pleasures of the senses lead to liberation, for *mokṣa* being an agreeable state is to be reached by agreeable means,

[1] In my *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature* (Visvabharati Bookshop, 1929), I have given a full account of the doctrines and practices of philosophical schools and religious sects mentioned in Jaina literature.

the Ājīvikas who held that everything, the fate of man and his ultimate deliverance, was determined by destiny; there is no karma or human effort that can change the course of destiny; there is no avail in human strength, vigour or manliness; deliverance depends not on karma but on series of thousands of births as predetermined by destiny, and

the Sect of Pārśva who laid down the four vows of non-killing, truthfulness, non-stealing and possessing no property.

Besides the above schools, the Jaina literature contains a mention of numerous kinds of religious sects some of whom believed that deliverance is obtained by regular bath or by tending a fire, dressing in particular articles, or by abstaining from certain kinds of food or by using certain kinds of articles only as food, or by adopting particular habits.

Buddhist Account of Contemporary Schools.

Buddha divided contemporary philosophical opinion, as stated in the *Brahmajāla Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya*, into eight classes broadly and these were subdivided into sixty-two kinds, *viz.*:—

The Sassatavādas who held that the soul and the world are both eternal; they were of four kinds,

the Ekaccasassatikas were of four kinds and held that Brahma was eternal but not all souls,

the Antānantikas held that the world is infinite or that it is finite; they were of four kinds,

the Amarāvikkhepikas who gave equivocating and ambiguous replies to all questions and were of four kinds,

the Adhiccasamuppannikas were of two kinds and held that the world and the soul came into being without a cause,

the Uddhāmāghātanikas were of thirty-two kinds and held various views on the condition of the soul after death,

the Ucchedavādas were of seven kinds and held that the soul is annihilated after death, and

the Nibbānavādas who held that the soul is capable of obtaining emancipation in this world and were of five kinds according as they held the four stages of dhyana or full enjoyment of the pleasures of the senses as the way to emancipation.

The *Sāmāññaphala Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya* also mentions six celebrated wandering teachers who were contemporaries of Buddha. Of them Mahāvīra was one and the other five were Gośāla, Ajita, Kātyāyana, Kāśyapa and Sañjaya. Gośāla was the leader of the Ājīvikas; Ajita's views were almost the same as of the Nāstikas; Kātyāyana's views were approximately the same as Ātmaṣaṣṭhavāda; Kāśyapa held that the soul is passive and unaffected by good or bad karma—an echo of the Sāṃkhya, and Sañjaya was an agnostic who held that perfect knowledge was not attainable—he would come under the category of the Ajñānavādins of the Jainas and the Amarāvikkhepikas of the Buddhists.

In estimating the value of Mahāvīra and Buddha's contribution to contemporary thought special importance must be given to the growing moral tone of the Brāhmaṇa literature. Earlier Vedic thought, as Keith observes, was not interested in moral progress; moral consciousness was absent from it; its attitude towards women was contemptuous and extremely cynical. It is highly probable that the stress which Mahāvīra and Buddha laid on moral worth and conduct stimulated to a great extent the rise of moral consciousness in the Brāhmaṇa literature. Mrs. Rhys Davids, who combines in herself ripe scholarship and the insight of her sex, has recently expressed the view that the thoughts of the Upaniṣads are post-Buddhistic in conception. This view has not yet been fully discussed by scholars, but in support of it may be pointed out the surprising fact that earnest enquirers of truth like Mahāvīra and Buddha do not reveal, in the literature of the Jainas and Buddhists, even the least knowledge of the grand

conceptions of the Upaniṣads. The acceptance of Mrs. Rhys Davids' view would also necessitate a recasting of the accepted chronology of the Vedic literature, thereby making a large part of it, hitherto regarded as pre-Buddhistic, post-Buddhistic and therefore *primâ facie* indebted to Mahāvīra and Buddha for their tone and conclusions.

AMULYA CHANDRA SEN

NATIONAL AND LOCAL FINANCE

The raisons d'etre of local taxation are (1) to secure economical and efficient local administration, and (2) to secure economical distribution of population and capital. The National Government finds that there are certain subjects which can be more efficiently and economically dealt with, if entrusted to groups of inhabitants both regarding expense and management than if managed by the Central Government itself through its officers. The second reason is that a growing proportion of public expenditure gives a particular locality an advantage in the competition which is always going on between it and the other localities. Moreover if all types of expenditure had been defrayed by the Central Exchequer it would lead to unjust results for as "ability" is the principle of just taxation "equality" is the basis of just distribution. If the Central Government spend money for local benefits land and fixed property would improve in value at the cost of the general taxpayer.[1] A certain class would benefit most from general taxation. Local taxation prevents such unjust advantage. Equitable taxation of property counteracts the extra advantage that the landowner derives from local improvement. From this point given local taxation which does not increase the value of property should not be anywhere greater than what is absolutely necessary to secure economy and efficiency.

It is clear from this that local taxation is inseparably connected with some sort of local government. Unless there be some local authority to administer the taxes economically and unless thereby it provides a healthy competition, there is no justification for such taxes. The local authorities must be such as can fulfil the purpose of such taxation. Lord Farrer[2] laid down two propositions to explain the nature of such bodies from the

[1] Prof. Edwin Cannan, "National Review," November, 1896.

[2] Memorandum submitted to the Royal Commission on Local Taxation, c. 9528, 1899.

financial point of view. (1) "Authority which receives taxes should be responsible for their expenditure; conversely, the authority which administers the expenditure should collect and have control of the taxes out of which it is paid." This indicates the principle which should regulate the relation of the local authority with the Supreme Government. If there be certain subjects which the local authorities have been given charge to administer they must be allowed to have control of the taxes. (2) Secondly, "Both in case of Imperial and Local Taxation the authority which has the control of a tax and of its expenditure should be responsible[1] to the persons who pay the tax." The theory behind "Democracy" is that he who pays the piper shall call the tune. This indicates the relationship which should exist between the ratepayer and the local authority. If we analyse them it is evident that without these essentials Local taxation fails in its purpose. Lord Farrer was however a doctrinaire politician; he was in favour of complete separation of Local and National finance. We shall consider later if there should be any control by the National Government and if so how it should be exercised. Now if there should be some local authorities for administering some services for the common good of the State the question arises which services should be managed by them or, in other words, we are to examine the principle of distribution of the burden of expenditure and trouble of management between National and Local Governments. Professor Bastable[1] has very clearly laid down the principles. He says, "There are certain classes of duties specially suitable for Local Government, *viz.*, those which exclusively or mainly concern the inhabitants of the locality, (2) those in which more effective, including more economical, management and supervision can be attained by local administration, and (3) those in which the variety and flexibility are required in order to meet differing conditions." In his opinion examples of the services under class (1) are maintenance

[1] *Ibid.*

of roads, water supply and sanitary measures. Examples under class (2) are Poor Law arrangements, and Police and Education are examples of the third. The first class should be delegated for just distribution of the burdens and the other two classes for general advantage.

If we classify them on another basis it would mean that local authorities have to manage (1) "services carried out and controlled almost entirely by local authorities in the interest of the respective localities and not to any marked extent for the benefit of the nation as a whole," and (2) semi-national services—while they are administered by the local authorities the State has at the same time so marked an interest in their efficiency as to justify a claim to the supervision of the administration.[1]

We had to study the principles of local taxation and the principles of distribution of services in order to study the principles of equitable assistance rendered by the Central Government to Local Authorities. Local taxation justifies itself because it is necessary to bring about economic distribution of population and capital. Those areas which can most economically provide local amenities attract capital and population and people can afford to pay for them. Non-uniformity is the very essence of local taxation.

Some of the services again which are "semi-national" are given to local authorities for economical management. The burden of national onerous local rates for these should be as far as possible equal in the local areas. New taxation for these purposes is likely to be subversive of the very principle of local taxation and introduces unjustified burden on occupiers. "The only legitimate use of State-subsidies is to diminish the bad effect by diminishing and equalising this part of local taxation as far as can be done consistently with the attainment of the end for which it remains local, *viz.*, to secure economy and efficiency."[2] From the point of view of equity

[1] Departmental Committee on Local Taxation, 1914.

[2] Cannan, National Review, 1896.

therefore grants should be as large as possible to reduce the irregularities of this portion of local taxation. But such grants may lead to extravagance and so the principle of equity must be tempered by another principle, *viz.*, principle of economy, which is the most important for our present purposes. The object of central grants should therefore be to relieve its local agents not altogether regarding local services but as far as it safely can. From practical consideration[1] "rates raised by spending authorities themselves must not merely be the groundwork of Local Finance but they should constitute the whole edifice," that is to say principles of taxation cannot be studied piecemeal—'local rates' for local services and 'local rates' for national services. We must study them together. "Regarding rates as the proper source from which all local expenditure should be defrayed, it is the unequal distribution of wealth which is the foundation of the dole."[2] Grants-in-aid are thus required for giving relief according to necessity.

Sydney Webb[3] (Lord Passfield) although he comes to the same conclusion and is in favour of grants according to necessity, challenges the whole theory of division of services. There cannot be any distinction between National and Local services. There is no real basis for such classification. The explanation of this "curious classification is the assumption that local services are those only which purchase an income in the rental value of local real estate."[2] On the other hand if the benefits do not result in paying extra rent for them, *e.g.*, education, provision for the poor and police-protection, they are described as onerous "and are thought fit to be borne by the National Exchequers. If this classification again is really recognised the evil of local autonomy regarding these local services is surely at hand. Such classification will make the localities thoroughly subservient to the Central Government. The fallacy must be buried and grants

1 Row-Fogo.
2 *Ibid.*
3 "Grants-in-aid," Sydney Webb.

must be made not for services that can be supposed to be more "national" than others but "in aid of certain definitely selected services whether locally useful or not in which the real object of Grants-in-aid can be most conveniently attained and in the efficiency of which the community as a whole has a considerable although by no means an exclusive interest." The economic justification of grants-in-aid is that they prevent an extreme inequality of burdens between one district and another, and that they help the districts in maintaining the minimum efficiency of the services. The relatively poor districts will inevitably lag behind the standard of local amenities. "The distribution of the common burden of taxation is felt to be so inequitable as to hinder any further development of the public services." This view of the subject does not appear to provide for any justification for local taxation. If economy and efficiency are the only reasons for devolving some duties, it can be achieved by uniform state taxation followed by devolution of duties to local authorities.

Distribution of subvention.

Grants cannot be made on the basis of expenditure of the local authorities on the selected services. This is often dangerous, for if the National Government relies on the local agents they are likely to be extravagant. Subventions lead often to extra expenditure and not simply relief of the local ratepayer by the national taxpayer, but to extra central taxation. The local authorities cannot increase the rates against the opinion of the ratepayers; on the other hand, a subvention being made it gets absorbed in the sink of crying demands of local authorities. Secondly, expenditure of the local authorities may not be the real criterion of efficiency of the services. Sydney Webb proposed that grants should be made in such a way as to (1) maintain the interest (of local authorities) in economical administration; (2) secure the enforcement everywhere of a "National minimum" of efficiency in each service; (3) stimulate and encourage improvements and a rise in the standard of living; and (4) so far equalise the burden on the ratepayer as to prevent the poorest district being made to pay

more than the average rate in the pound of the kingdom as a whole." The fourth principle coupled with the dictum that the grants should be generally one half of the total required expenditure appears to be very rigidly laid down. This is not the place to discuss the question, but Prof. Edwin Cannan says, "No principle is available except the general one which justifies the method of comparing and some sort of averaging the unanalysable judgments given by competent authorities conversant with the circumstances of each case." This dictum appears to be more practicable.

The evolution of State-subventions is generally based on historical facts and differs in different places. So it is difficult to lay down any principles of distribution. In England grants-in-aid are the guiding principle by which local finance could be developed.[1] From the very time when local government was attempted to be organised on systematic principles, state assistance became important on grounds other than economical. The organisation of local authorities provided the organisation of the State and these units had a sense of autonomy and local pride. They refused to recognise for a long time that they were co-ordinate members of a homogeneous state. In other places where this sentiment of "union without unity" was stronger the organisation of the State resulted in Federations. It is only by grants-in-aid that the Central Government bought administrative control over the local authorities which preferred to part with their rights one by one in lieu of subventions. These are most useful for giving weight "to the suggestions, criticism and authoritative advice to secure greater efficiency and economy of administration." Secondly, they furnish a practicable method consistent with local autonomy, of bringing to bear upon local administration the wisdom of experience, superiority of knowledge, and breadth of view which the Central Departments cannot fail to acquire

[1] Royal Commission on Local Taxation, quoted by Row-Fogo.

for carrying into effect the general policy which Parliament has prescribed.[1]

Economic principles underlying State assistance, although formulated from time to time were not effectively carried out according to any consistent policy in England, before the Local Government Act, 1929. In 1834, the cry was for relief of "national burdens" and Lord Grey's [2] Government agreed to bear one half cost of prosecution at Assizes and Quarter Sessions. From 1867, there was demand for relief of " hereditary burdens " by the landowners who complained against inequality of incidence of rates against real property. Viscount Goschen in imitation of the Continental example introduced a system which was not at all based on any principle. Administrative facilities were purchased at the cost of the ratepayer. Due to expansiveness of British revenues the assigned revenues became too large and local authorities were allowed to utilise the surplus for purely local purposes. Later history was complete surrender to the cry of unequal incidence of rates. The Agricultural Rates Act of 1876 and Tithe Rent Charge Act of 1899 were instituted to give relief to the landed gentry. The Departmental Committee on Local Taxation recognised the principle of rendering State-assistance for semi-national services for removing "inequalities of local taxation system both existing between individuals and those existing between districts " because burden of local taxation mainly fell on real property whereas any transference of such local burden would tend to a fairer distribution of such burden." They felt a doubt regarding the reasonableness of such method as subventions had to enter taxation and there is always "difficulty in determining what is the true incidence of rates and the tendency for the burden to be shifted would render it highly conjectural whether the relief to be afforded by the new taxation would reach the individuals who are bearing the

1 Sydney-Webb "Grants-in-aid."

2 Historical account taken from Hamilton's memorandum to Royal Commission on Local Taxation.

burdens." The 1929 Act recognised that necessity should be the criterion for subventions, at the same time with a view to assisting the revival of agricultural and basic industries of productive industry abolished the rating of agricultural land and agricultural buildings and reduced the incidence on industrial and freight transport hereditaments. Government fixed upon "(1) modifying the basis and method of State subventions, arranging for meeting the case of necessitous areas, (2) arranging for obviating the difficulties of those authorities whose finances were on too narrow a basis."[1] The General Exchequer contribution fund—a national fund—was created for compensating for the grants abolished, the loss caused by the Derating Act of the standard year 1928-29 and £5 million for the first three years for England and Wales.

Regarding method and distribution the Departmental Committee on Local Taxation suggested that a "basis which combines unit with expenditure" was the most suitable because the greatest objection to unit-basis alone was that "the expenditure per unit depends upon many of the factors besides the ability of the district and that it varies from locality to locality within very wide limits." Adoption of expenditure alone would lead to extravagance. In 1928, the Ministry of Health found that "the existing system was complicated by payment of grants on varying bases and came to the conclusion that a proper system should recognise—

(*a*) that a fair contribution should be made for the Exchequer towards the cost of local services ;

(*b*) ensure that Local Authorities have complete financial interest in their administration ;

(*c*) be adapted in its working to the needs of the areas ;

(*d*) permit the greatest freedom of local administration and initiative;

1 Cmd 3134, 1928 proposals for Reform in Local Government and in the Financial relations between the Exchequer and Local Authorities and Ministry of Health.

(*e*) and provide for sufficient general control and advice from the Central Departments to ensure a reasonable standard of performance."

If we examine the Continental system as we ought to do inasmuch as the Indian system will be found to be more allied to it, we shall find that the whole local governmental system is more logical although less autonomous. From the legal point of view local authorities are non-sovereign bodies subordinate to the State. They are to be considered as parts of a homogeneous State. Their existence justifies itself if they discharge their functions in such a way as to conduce best to the common good of the whole community. The distribution of public services is actually based on this principle. The division is purely administrative. The services have been divided into "local" and "central"—the latter being those which the Central Government decided to keep under its own supervision for political, administrative or financial reasons; the rest being considered local. For the sake of convenience and economy some of the central subjects are given to the local bodies for administration and are "obligatory." [1]

So far as financial arrangement is concerned there is no clear-cut division. The Central authority will always see that the obligatory services are satisfactorily discharged with at least minimum of efficiency. If they are not so done additional taxation, if necessary, may be imposed or the requisite expense may be inserted in the local budgets. There is a hierarchy of local authorities and resources are derived from all of them and also from outside institutions and persons by endowments and subscriptions. Whether the whole or part of the cost of the obligatory services is met by the National Exchequer, definite control is exercised by the Central Government over them. In

1 Description of the Continental system has been taken from Watsen Grice, "National and Local Finance."

the case of "optional" services also though the Central Government has not much interest when necessary the State renders assistance by grants or loans. The primary purpose of State assistance is thus not political, not for compelling allegiance by bribes but mainly economical, *viz.*, necessity for relief. The hierarchy of local authorities in the Continent provides a machinery for administering discriminating relief which is not to be found in England. The individual circumstances are well examined and "it is considered as axiomatic that such a task is beyond the capacity of the Central Government."[1] The method of distributing the grants on the Continent, however, is similar to that in England, *viz.*, subvention in aid of specific services and not in aid of the general revenues. In France there are some general grants, *e.g.*, some portion of the proceeds of certain State-taxes,[2] but they were obviously intended as monetary inducements to the local authorities for supervision and collection of State-taxes.

Control.

The control of the Central Government in the Continent is thoroughly different from the British system. In England, the Central Government has large powers of control but they cannot be termed administrative. The ways in which the control is exercised were related by Mr. I. G. Gibbon of the Ministry of Health in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Local Government, 1922. He admitted that the "general supervision tends to be over-shadowed by the more direct control through loans and grants." The more important methods are (1) issuing of general orders and regulations, (2) Inspection by officers of the Central Government, (3) confirmation of bye-laws, (4) audit, (5) control over grants, (6) control over loans, (7) appellate functions, (8) power of acting in default, (9) power in respect of local legislation. If

[1] Row-Fogo.

[2] The "quatre vieulles" were abolished in 1917 and the local additional centimes are levied on an imaginary basis depending on the abolished taxes but I do not know if the system of subvention was changed.

we analyse these it would be apparent that local bodies "may exercise only those powers which have been specified and bestowed on them by legislative enactment by which they were constituted or by general Acts of Parliament applying to all authorities of a certain class" [1] or by special local acts." The Central Government has methods of ascertaining the necessary and illegal expenditure but finally the decision rests with the ordinary Courts of Law. The result is that although technically by writs of mandamus or otherwise the Central Government can exercise its control really unless some financial interest is at stake, the will of the Central Government cannot be enforced. There are some methods of administrative control, *e.g.*, it is reserved that regarding the Poor Law administration the appointment and dismissal of the more important officials shall be subject to the approval of the Central Department, but this power as well as the power of nominating members to the Local authorities is sparingly used. The power of inspection and audit left with the Central Government although cannot enforce the will of the Government in a technical way on the local authorities, is formidable. The very idea of stringent audit threatens the authorities from refraining from acting illegally.[2] The power of surcharge and disqualification of a member for illegal and unreasonable expenditure for 5 years (1927 Audit Act) although enforceable through law courts is formidable enough for regulating the acts of the authorities. It is known to people who actually do the work that the work of inspection, if carried with sufficient intelligence, can enforce the policy of the Central Government on most occasions. But still as we have seen the system is a little different from the Continental one, where the local authorities can do what they are not prohibited from doing but the administrative control is stringent including the finances. The Central Government can compel the execution

[1] Watson Grice," National and Local Law."

[2] Taken from Dr. Finer's lectures on Local Government Problems as far as I could follow.

of an obligatory work and has power of approving the budget; they have power of approval or appointment and dismissal of responsible officials. It has been often contended that the centralised system in France was nullified by the Communal Charter of April 5th, 1884, but as Mr. Barthby quoting Mr. Harris in his "Local Government on Many Lands" said, "Administrative supervision is still supreme. France cannot be abandoned to the whims of 87 General Councils and 36,000 municipalities."

In India, the introduction of local taxation is to be explained by historical facts.[1] The Court of Directors never approved of any additional tax on land besides land revenue. In the sixties of the last century however the Imperial Government was passing through a severe financial crisis. The financial statements of the period amply testify to that statement. Mr. Laing, the Finance Member, proposed in his budget of 1861-62, to stop the grant of £500,000 for Public Works to save deficit and to have it raised by local taxation. This was not carried into effect. The Imperial revenues were not sufficient to meet even the demands of general, civil and military expenditure. On the other hand[2] "there is much absolutely requiring to be done if the civilisation of the people is to be improved which the Government cannot overtake out of Imperial Funds.....The Imperial Government will no longer continue to provide for Imperial Funds the means of carrying out works of local improvement throughout India and that if more local roads and schools and hospitals and other useful works of importance are required they must be provided from local resources and not general taxation."

Along with the question of introducing local taxation came the question of establishing local boards. Local bodies to manage the funds were considered necessary for several reasons.

[1] Quoted in Sir Charles Wood's despatch of 14th April, 1861.

[2] Secretary of State's (Duke of Argyll's), Despatch of 1870 regulating local cess.

(*i*) It[1] would be most desirable if the local character of the rates could be "marked by committing both the assessing of this and the application of this to local bodies." Sir John Lawrence was anxious that the assent and concurrence of the ratepayers should be secured both in the levy and in the management of rates. It was necessary that the local character of the rates should be made "direct and palpable" and hence the unit of local government was considered proper to be as small as possible.

(*ii*) "Local interest, supervision and care" were necessary for management of roads allotted for local welfare purposes specially when local resources were "as multifarious as inexhaustible" to borrow Trevelyn's words. Without local agency local taxation was not likely to succeed in its purposes.

(*iii*) Besides these, however, the purpose of educating the people for self-government was always kept in view. "The scheme would greatly foster the growth of municipal institutions and of what is still more important of the spirit of local self-help and self-guidance which is at the bottom of a nation's greatness" (Laing, 1861-62)—"Local rating, although it may be imposed in the first instance by Imperial authority, must become a powerful means of further educating the people in an intelligent management of their own affairs" (Duke of Argyll's Despatch of 1870). This view was reiterated in the resolution published in 1864 where it was stated that local government was an old institution in India and would succeed well under encouragement. Lord Mayo in 1870 (Resolution on decentralisation) and Lord Ripon also reiterated the same views.

The distribution of services between local authorities and the respective Provincial Governments was in consonance with the purposes of local taxation and based on historical grounds. The local authorities were expected to manage some of the public services which it was intended should be met from local

[1] *Ibid.*

taxation. Financial stringency was at the root of such devolution. In the beginning there was no well laid-out policy regarding the distribution of these services, but from the Government of India Resolution No. 2245, dated 31st August, 1864, we can have some idea as to which services were meant to be transferred. The views of the Government were thus indicated. "Holding the position as we do in India, every view of duty and policy should induce us to leave as much as possible of the business of the country to be done by the people by means of funds raised by themselves and to confine ourselves to doing those things which must be done by the Government and to influencing and directing in a general way all the movements of the social machine." The actual services which were meant to be transferred, although not clearly stated, were indicated in Duke of Argyll's Despatch of 1870 and from the various statements made during the sixties. We can deduce that municipal police, elementary education, local amenities including roads, public health including vaccination and medical relief, were primarily meant to be managed by local bodies and met from local taxation. The Acts were framed according to this policy.

Police.

(1) In the same resolution it was stated that "the expense of police specially required for the purposes of town populations should be defrayed by these populations" and "that the cost of the municipal Police ought invariably be the first charge upon the Municipal Fund after the expenses of collection." This was supposed to be in keeping with Indian tradition in as much as cost of local police was always met by the villages.[1]

[1] In ancient India, police was organised on the basis of land tenure. The zemindars and the subordinate tenure-holders were responsible for peace and order within their areas. Ultimately there was joint responsibility of the villagers. The notorious Kavelgari system of Madras was an instance how villagers had to compound with the heads of the robber races, the Kavelgars and Palegars who levied heavy blackmail for forbearance from crime. (Memorandum submitted by W. Robinson, Inspector-General of Police, Madras, to the Police Commission, 1860.)

(2) It was also suggested that if Municipalities had been brought into being for Police purposes they would serve another purpose, *viz.*, providing for local requirement under the municipal system more promptly and fully than by Governmental agency and "when the people would see that they were allowed to manage their own affairs, they would feel confidence to do things which they would not have accepted from Government."

(3) Government of India always thought (No. 5876, dated 28th October, 1867, to Government of Bengal) "Expense of Roads, Education, etc., in Lower Bengal cannot be borne by the Imperial Exchequer out of its existing revenues and that it must be met by special rates levied locally for the purpose." "As a matter of fact the State has never undertaken to provide for the education of the mass of the people."

The division was thus made for administrative and financial convenience. Some services the nature of which, *e.g.*, local roads, was mainly local and some others which in other countries might be considered "national," *e.g.*, Police (Police in Municipalities of India was thoroughly controlled by the Police Department) and "Education," were given over to local bodies for management mainly by local taxation. Government's policy was made more clear and comprehensive by Lord Ripon in his letter No. 3513, dated 10th October, 1881, to the Government of Bengal. "Provincial expenditure which may be transferred to local control appears in the accounts under heads of "medical," "education" and "public works" but Government is anxious that no artificial restriction be imposed on such transfers..... Governor General would be glad to see Municipal bodies relieved altogether of the charge of Police, equal amount of expenditure on education, medical charity and if possible "Public Works" of local interest being transferred to them with as full control as may be practically expedient." Mr. Westland's memorandum submitted to the Finance Committee in 1886 also suggested that education, local public works and public health including Hospitals, Dispensaries and vaccination were meant to be met

from local revenues. The nature of the services transferred remains almost the same as was done in accordance with Lord Ripon's Resolution except that Police (Municipal and village) was transferred to the Government in the United Provinces in 1905 and 1908 respectively. With the details of distribution we are not concerned here, for there have been many such charges in this respect, *e.g.*, in Bengal recently (1927) the Provincial vaccination staff was transferred to the District Boards, in Madras the District Headquarter Hospitals have been provincialised.

Although some method was now introduced regarding devolution of services, no principle of subvention of the Provincial Governments or of the Central Government was laid down. The changes made during Lord Ripon's regime did not differ fundamentally regarding assistance to local bodies. The principle of transference of services followed the previous method of handing over certain services to local bodies for management by local resources but instead of desiring that these should be mainly met from taxation some of the Provincial revenues were assigned more systematically (specially in Bengal) and it was expected that the local charged would be solely met from the local resources and some fixed grants when necessary. The revenues assigned however proved inelastic and assistance had to be rendered to the local bodies. Although no definite principle appears to have been laid down in the eighties if we follow the system of assistance that was given (which will be related in detail in a later chapter) we can realise that the assistance given was based on the principle of "necessity for relief." This dictum however is subject to various interpretations. In the European countries, as we have seen, it means (1) the maintenance of national minimum of efficiency in the local services and (2) equalisation of burdens of local authorities. The method of distribution is based on the necessity of individual services instead of assistance to the general financial position of the local authorities.

In India the dictum of "necessity for relief" could not be interpreted in that way.[1] The incidence of local taxation was extremely low specially in rural boards and if efficiency was to be maintained grants were to be prohibitively large, the problem of roads and education, although being tackled by various methods, has not still been completely solved. No criterion of adequacy of these services could be established for giving grants. Moreover it must be remembered that inordinate grants not only lead to extravagance but also to additional taxation. A large part of the Governmental revenues consists of tax on land and so additional subvention would mean additional burden on land. Sir James Meston in 1912 (March) pointed out in the Indian Legislative Assembly:

"It has been a sound policy of Government of India to keep burden on land low. It can hardly be a sound policy to allow local bodies to increase it and certainly it would be thoroughly unsound to base this system of finance on arbitrary enhancement of taxation on land combined with arbitrary doles from the Exchequer."

Probably because of this low incidence of local taxation and the paucity of funds at the disposal of local bodies coupled with the inadequacy of funds at the disposal of the Government of India during the nineteenth century, no general principles regarding purposes of assistance to local authorities could be laid down. We can however trace one negative principle for giving relief which was promulgated in 1897, and reiterated in 1902, in which it was stated that grants should not ordinarily be given for sanitary and other projects solely for the benefit of local areas unless these were very important and that aid should be given by way of loans. (Finance Department letter No. 1245 A, dated 16th March, 1897, to Madras Government.)

[1] But *cf.* Gokhale's views that in India the ratio of the incidence of the sum of National and local taxation was to the taxable capacity of the Indian taxpayer the same as that in the European countries but the distribution of the proceeds was much worse among local authorities than in other countries (1912, Legislative Assembly speech).

This principle however was laid down only for purposes of economy of the Imperial purse and the Provincial Governments were not only not debarred from contributing from their savings in case of important works but actually made large grants. (*Cf.* Public Works grants in Bengal, necessity explained by Bengal Government letter No. 424 TF, dated 6th November, 1899). Large grants however were made by the Government of India for education and public health when the Imperial Purse could afford to make contributions and the principle of "necessity" was confined to, not in a rigid way, but in so far as it was compatible with financial and administrative convenience. [1] It is because of these difficulties that Government of India in the Resolution on Local self-government in 1915, suggested the possibility "of supplementing taxation by development of municipal property." It is very difficult to ascertain whether the significance of the suggestion is in any way connected with the question of grants but in some of the Provinces grants have been utilised as a lever for increasing the resources of local authorities. In Bengal capital expenditure of local bodies by loans was abnormally low. The authorities are always inclined to finance capital works from current revenue. An ingenious method was adopted in 1928 (103-103 T-P.H., dated 28th May) by which Government proposed to utilise the water supply grants for partial relief of interest on loans for capital expenditure. In Madras under section 37 of the Elementary Education Act, Government has to contribute not less than the proceeds of taxation that local authorities may impose for elementary education under section 34 of the Act. The 25% Road-cess grants although more mechanical were based on the proceeds of the cess income. It is apparent therefore that some of the grants are being given, and should be given, due to peculiar circumstances in India, for increasing the local resources both current and capital.

[1] Because of the complexities of the situation the Financial Relations Committee, Madras, 1920, suggested it to be the only practicable principle.

Interpretation of "necessity for relief" cannot be confined to mean some fixed amount required for satisfactory discharge of services but also to improve the general financial position of the local authorities not by general grants but by helping the authorities to increase their resources.

So far as the question of equalisation of burdens is concerned it has not been lost sight of by the Government. Government of India Resolution of 1915 on local government accepted the recommendation of the Decentralisation Commission that "assistance may legitimately be given by Government to poor municipalities which would be unable to carry on the normal standard of administration required from them." The agencies through which subventions are given and the method of distribution facilitate the granting of subventions according to needs. So far as rural boards are concerned, in most of the Provinces there is a hierarchy of local authorities and they can ascertain the needs of the lower boards. In Bengal, some of the grants, *e.g.*, a substantial portion of the 25% Road-cess grants and additional cess grants due to deprovincialisation of the Public Works cess are meant to be distributed to the Union Boards. The educational grants consisted partly of Imperial grants (mostly recurring) before the reforms and partly of Provincial allotments. There does not appear to have been any fixed principles of making the grants excepting that determining the ways in which the expenditure was to be shared between the local authorities and the governments.[1] But the Budgets are prepared by the education officers of the Department (Education) and are based on the grants-in-aid rules laid down by the respective governments and hence facilitate distribution of grants according to needs.

[1] In Bengal, since 1907 (notification, dated 20th March 1907) it was laid down that the total expenditure of Boards must not be less than what they spent in 1901-02. Grants consisted partly of what was incorporated within "equilibrium" grants abolished since 1913 and partly of allotments. In Bombay, Government agreed to share ½ of the educational expenditure of local bodies on primary education since 1903. This has been modified by the Bombay Elementary Education Act, 1923.

The Provincial Governments have taken into account the principle of attempting towards equalisation of burdens with regard to the augmentation grant (25% Road-cess grant since 1905). This used to be given on a mechanical basis, *viz.*, the proceeds of the road-cess. The result was in certain cases that these districts which needed grants most, due to the smallness of the local cess, got the least. This has been abolished in Madras and is given now for second class roads. In Bengal, the principle has been reshuffled since 1925 and half of it is now given on the basis of needs of the districts, the commissioners of the respective divisions having been allowed discretion to allot the grants. In Bihar and Orissa a re-allotment of augmentative grants based on divisional needs was adopted for a period of 5 years in 1920.

When far-reaching changes during Lord Ripon's regime were brought about (as we shall examine later) in some of the Provinces, *e.g.*, Bengal and North-West Frontier Province, it was arranged that a computation of the requirements of rural local authorities would be made on the basis of the expenditure in 1885-6 and an equilibrium-grant as a lump sum would be given for meeting the additional charges that were transferred to them. The revenues assigned to the authorities however proved inelastic and the grants estimated on the basis of a particular year were bound to become obsolete and did not work. Since 1913 when the Public Works cess in Bengal and a part of the cess (20%) in the United Provinces which used to be spent for general administrative expenditure were transferred to local bodies, the equilibrium grants were resumed. Besides these general grants and the augmentation grants however all the other grants have been given not as general grants but for individual services—in many cases being earmarked for particular items of the service. Government of India Resolution of 1918 accepted the recommendation of the Decentralisation Commission for abolition of the system of specification of incomes on certain services and for introducing the principle of giving lump grants and percentage

contributions towards individual services rather than towards earmarked heads.

The evolution of principles of local government in India was on lines similar to those in the Continent—although in form it might be different. The local bodies were initially mere agencies with a gradual tendency to make them co-ordinate units of a homogeneous State. They were given certain functions because it would be conducive to the common good of the State as a whole. Local taxes could be imposed and collected more economically and with the best possible results and certain services could be most economically managed by them.

Here also, as in the Continent, decentralisation was the first object for economic management, then came the intention of introducing non-official element, but during the time there was always administrative control and supervision. We have already discussed the question of decentralisation by creating local authorities. So far as the question of introduction of non-official element is concerned it was done with a view to assist the people of the country to learn to manage their local and gradually national affairs and secondly because "as education advances it is not only a bad policy but sheer waste of power not to utilise the intelligent class of public-spirited men" [1] who could be so conveniently utilised for relieving the official element of overburden duties.

Before Lord Ripon's scheme was carried into effect the system of local government was thoroughly bureaucratic, being controlled completely "from within and without." The situation was very tersely put by Sir A. Mackenzie in the Bengal Legislative Council in 1880. "In India on the other hand, a foreign but nevertheless benevolent government taxes the people *ab extra* in their own interest and often in their own despite. Viewed thus municipal and other local taxation is in India

[1] Lord Ripon.

as distinctly Imperial taxation as the Income tax itself..... In order to bring in economy of administration, to secure the help of those locally interested and to reconcile local populations to special burdens, Government transfers the assessment and management of sources of revenue to local bodies but the ultimate responsibility still lies with Government and it is for the Government to lay down the limits within which the system shall be worked. That, Sir, I conceive to be the only sound theory of local taxation in India."

Lord Ripon in his resolution of 1882 laid down the principles of control and was of opinion that control should be exercised from without than from within, that is to say there should not be any external dictation of policy by introducing the official supremacy in the constitution of the boards but external control, *e.g* , provision of Governmental sanction for certain acts such as power of taxation, and raising of loans besides some amount of special outside control empowering Government to set aside proceedings of local bodies or superseding negligent boards or compelling the defaulting boards to do some work.

The Government of India issued two comprehensive resolutions in 1915 and 1918. So far as internal control is concerned Government accepted the opinion of the Decentralisation Commission that there should be elective majorities in rural and municipal boards (subject to a proviso in the latter) that chairmen in municipalities should be elected non-officials except when an official was elected by non-official majority subject to the approval of the Commissioner of the Division and in rural boards "Local Governments should arrange for election of chairmen whenever possible and appointment of non-official chairmen in others."

The very nature of local Government indicates that due to this non-sovereign character there must be some legislative control requiring some restriction for taxation and certain other acts. Besides the general limits however Government was of opinion that in case of indebted municipalities sanction of

Government should be ordinarily required to any alteration which might reduce the reserves of municipalities. With regard to Rural Boards it was not considered feasible to give them powers of taxation. Subsequently, however, this restriction has been removed in certain cases.

By the Government of India Act, 1919, under section 45-A, local and municipal matters have been made "transferred subjects" and under section 80 A-3-(*a*) read with Rule 3 of the Taxes Rules, the legistative council of a province may without the previous sanction of the Governor General authorise any local authority to impose for the purposes of such local authority any tax included in Schedule II of these rules.[1] In most of the important provinces except Bengal, new Municipal and Local Boards Acts have been passed. In some of these Acts the local authorities are empowered (*e.g.*, sec. 99 of the Bombay Local Boards Act, 1923) to levy any tax within the said schedule, subject to the sanction of the Commissioner (sec. 101), power being reserved to the Government to suspend the levy of objectionable taxes. In others, *e.g.* U.P. District Boards Act, 1922, specified taxes are leviable by the authorities subject to the same restrictions. The municipalities have long enjoyed the power of levying of some of the specified taxes subject to the sanction of the Government. The local authorities in some cases (Bengal is still a great exception—so far as District Boards are concerned) are partially rating authorities having been given the power of selecting suitable taxes.

So far as administrative control over finance is concerned, this has been much reduced—the Commissioner's and the local Government's control, as the case may be, being confined to seeing that the budget provides for the due discharge of all

[1] Madras Local Boards and Municipal Act, 1920. These Acts were introduced before the inauguration of Reforms in Madras—

Bombay Local Boards Act	...	...	1923
,, Municipality Act	...	...	1925
U.P. Local Boards Act	...	...	1922

and so forth.

liabilities in respect of loans contracted by any local boards or municipality, and the maintenance of a working balance.[1] We must also note in this connection that in certain cases (*e.g.*, Bengal Village Self-government Act) the Government has still some administrative control over the finances of the village local authorities.[2]

Some special powers however have been reserved by the Governments whereby in case of default the District Boards and Municipalities as the case may be (Sec. 39 (4), Madras Municipal Act, Sec. 54 (2) of C. P. Municipal Act, Sec. 64 of Bengal Municipal Act ; Bengal S. G. Act, Sec. 125) may be made to do the act or appoint some person to do it, the persons having custody of the funds of the authority being compelled to pay the expenses in priority to any other charge against such fund except charges for the service of authorised loans. Because of this diminution in general administrative control over the finances of the local authorities Governments in some of the provinces find that the local authorities are drifting into undesirable autonomy. "In Bengal there are several authorities who can criticise and advise...but no authority has effective power to enforce action" (Bengal Government's Memorandum to the Simon Commission). In many cases the grants given by the Governments have not been properly utilised. Under Rule 46 of Part II of Schedule I of Devolution Rules power of audit of local Boards and Municipalities is left to the Provincial Governments. It is always necessary that grants are spent within reasonable time and the purposes and

[1] Bengal—Circular No. 7 T-L.S.G., dated 12th October, 1912.
Madras—Sec. 117 (2) of the Local Boards Act, 1920, Sec. 120 of the District Municipality Act, 1920.
C.P.—Proviso to subsection (3) of Sec. 86 C.P. Municipal Act 11 of 1922.
U.P.—District Boards Act, 1922, Sec. 161 (2), where the Government has further power of seeing that any Governmental allotment is properly utilised.

[2] Rule 1-A of the Account Rules of Bengal Village Self-government Act requires that items of Part I of the budget relating to dafadars and chaukidars are subject to the sanction of the District Magistrate being submitted through the Circle Officer and Subdivisional Officer. This control is not limited to any restrictions.

conditions are fulfilled. The Bihar and Orissa Local Fund Act[1] recently passed and finance rules of local authorities in Madras provide for powers of surcharge. The auditors "shall disallow every item contrary to law and shall charge against any person responsible therefor the amount of any deficiency or loss incurred by negligence and misconduct." It has been reported that in Bihar threat of surcharge was never sufficient to have the irregularities set right in $\frac{2}{3}$rds of the cases and in only $\frac{1}{14}$th of the cases requisitions had to be issued.

Borrowing powers.

The Local Authorities Loans Act of 1914 consolidate the laws relating to borrowing powers of local authorities and Rules under the same Act (Indian Finance, 1020 A, dated 10th November, 1914, and Resolution No. 1019-A, dated 10th November, 1914) clearly laid down their powers and the purposes for which loans could be incurred. The provincial Governments are the sanctioning authorities except in certain cases of non-Government loans, when the Government of India is the final sanctioning authority. Restrictions of such loans are mainly an enquiry by the Government regarding the financial position of the authorities and utility of the purpose and after the borrowing some control and inspection of the works and accounts (Rule 12). Some of the bigger municipalities and Improvement Trusts are allowed power to "borrow money by means of issue of bills and promissory notes payable within any period not exceeding twelve months."

(*i*) In view of the conditions noted above it will be our purpose hereafter to examine the system of local taxation in India, and how far it should be improved, because with the growth oftrade commerce, some taxes which are local ought to be nationalised and in differing conditions national taxes may be localised.[2]

(*ii*) The system of distribution of services and how far it should be improved ; in certain countries there is a tendency

[1] Sec. 11 of the Act and Rule 60 A of Finance Rules, Madras Act V of 1929.

[2] Seligman's Essays in Taxation—State and Local Revenues.

towards nationalisation of local functions, *e.g.*, England, in others decentralisation, *e.g.*, France, and along with it the system of subventions and how far the principle and method of distribution should be improved.

(*iii*) The question of control, for it is essential that there must be some control in order to ensure (1) that the finances of the local authority shall be run on sound and constructive lines ; (2) that minimum standard of efficiency be maintained as regards essential services, *e.g.*, Police, Health and Education ; (3) to avoid an undue upsetting of the established order of things." [1]

B. K. SARKAR

[1] E. D. Simon, " City Council from Within."

MIR QUASIM'S EXPEDITION AGAINST NEPAL

Early in January, 1763, the Nawab proceeded on an expedition against Nepal. He set out with a grand army led by his Commader-in-chief, Gurgin Khan, almost immediately after the departure[1] of Mr. Vansittart from Monghyr. This expedition deserves more than a passing mention, as it admirably serves to illustrate the Nawab's innate cupidity and ambition. That he should have planned and attempted the conquest of a hilly country like Nepal with an ill-equipped and newly recruited force shows not only an utter lack of foresight, but the absence of even ordinary commonsense and prudence. It is indeed strange that the Nawab should have turned his attention to foreign conquest at a time when his own dominions needed settlement and consolidation. He had, however, been led to believe that the reduction of Nepal would be an easy task,[2] and so he thoughtlessly undertook the venture in a most optimistic mood. Little had he calculated the peculiar difficulties that his army would have to face in an unknown mountainous country!

It was Gurgin Khan who had been principally responsible for the initiation[3] of the project, and the Nawab readily approved of it to gratify his own greed and ambition. A number of circumstances appeared to be favourable to the proposed expedition. In the first place, the Nawab had recently[4] reorganised and re-modelled his forces according to the European fashion, and its efficiency and strength were reported to the Nawab in exaggerated terms. The new army had to be put to the test before the Nawab could consider himself secure against the English, and Gurgin Khan therefore urged the Nawab to

1 Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 184. Mr. Vansittart left Monghyr on January 9, 1763.
2 Siyar, II, p. 447.
3 *Ibid*, p. 446, and Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, All. Univ. MS., p. 781.
4 Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 185.

undertake the expedition with a view to make a trial[1] of the army he had lately disciplined, and of the artillery he had so efficiently created and trained. In fact the Nawab too seems to have been extremely anxious to test the strength of his army. Had this not been a fact, he could surely have asked for the assistance of the Company's forces. That he deliberately rejected[2] the counsel of his close friends like Ali Ibrahim Khan who had rightly asked him to drop the idea of the expedition or undertake the venture with the help of the English, is extremely significant and points to the Nawab's intention of relying on his own troops, and giving it a fair trial. In the second place, the fortress of Bettia had only been recently taken,[3] and the district of Champaran still awaited a thorough subjugation.[4] A force would have to be sent there sooner or later for establishing order and peace. Could it not be both convenient and easy to utilise this opportunity for annexing the neighbouring kingdom of Nepal ? In the third place, there were in the Nawab's service a number of people from the hills and, possessed as they were of a first-hand knowledge of their country, they constantly offered their services as guides[5] in an expedition to Nepal, and their encouragement was a decisive factor in the end. In the fourth place Gurgin Khan had collected a good deal of information about the Himalayan countries from the hordes of mendicants who annually visited[6] those parts, and from the Kashmiris and Armenians who traded in Tibet. Finally, the affairs in Nepal were at this time in a troublous condition, and invited interference. The country was passing through a critical period of her chequered history. Ranjit Mall, the last Newar ruler of the country, was

1 Siyar, II, p. 446.
2 Siyar, II, p. 447.
3 Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 13. The Nawab's troops took the fort in March, 1762.
4 Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S, V, p. 608).
5 Siyar, II, pp. 446-47.
6 Siyar, II, p. 447.

vainly trying [1] to stem the tide of Gurkha invasion led by Prithwi Narayan, the daring Gurkha Chief, who was fast subjugating the valley of Nepal. In short, the country was in the throes of a revolution, and in a state of complete confusion and anarchy. This seemed to be a tempting opportunity for fishing in the troubled waters of that country, and anticipating its inevitable conquest by the Gurkhas.

What influenced the Nawab most in his ultimate decision was the alluring report that Nepal was an exceedingly wealthy country abounding in gold and other valuable commodities. The prospect of easily acquiring the fabulous wealth of Nepal fired the imagination of both Gurgin Khan and his master, and the conquest of such a country held out temptations that the latter could hardly have resisted. As a matter of fact, the principal commodity imported into Bengal from Tibet was gold, and this fact lent colour to the popular belief that Nepal and the countries beyond abounded with gold mines.[2] According to the author of the Muzaffar Namah,[3] the Nawab undertook the expedition, chiefly at the instigation of Raja Sukh Lal among others, who authoritatively informed the former that there were gold mines in Nepal, and that these were easily accessible.

Mir Qasim could hardly have been unaware of the many other advantages that would result from the success of his project. From times immemorial, there had been a considerable trade between the province of Bihar, and the trans-Himalayan regions through Nepal, and its vicinity to the district of Champaran afforded immense facilities for the development of this trans-Frontier trade of Bihar and Bengal. If only Nepal could be annexed to Bengal, this lucrative trade would soon grow to the advantage of the Nawab's government. Besides, there was a real apprehension that the success of the Gurkhas might ruin

[1] An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul. By Kirkpatrick, p. 268.

[2] Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, Alld. Univ. MS., p. 781. Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S, V, p. 608). Siyar, II, p. 446.

[3] Muzaffar Namah, Alld. Univ. MS., p. 334.

this profitable commerce between Bengal and the Himalayan countries, and it was because of this that the annexation of Nepal by the Gurkhas was dreaded by the English who at the time of Cornwallis sent an unsuccessful expedition under Captain Kinloch to help the Newar prince.[1] There was another obvious advantage. The Nawab surely knew that a brilliant military campaign would considerably add to his prestige and renown. Nepal was the only part of India which the Muslim arms had never fully reached, and if the Nawab could succeed in bringing it under his rule, he would have the unique honour of carrying the banner of Islam into that country! Above all, he would be able to earn the distinction and prestige of a conqueror, and thus surpass the previous Subahdars of Bengal.

If the author of the Muzaffar-Namah is to be credited,[2] the Nawab, before setting out himself, had originally sent under a trusty officer only a small force consisting of three battalions of Tilangas to make the preliminary attack against the borders of Nepal, but the latter, however, not only failed to achieve any success, but also ultimately perished [3] in an unsuccessful attempt to scale the heights, being crushed by huge stones that were rolled down upon them by the enemy. In all about three thousand men are thus reported to have lost their lives. When the Nawab heard of this dismal event, he determined to avenge himself on the insolent Gurkhas by sending a grand army against them under Gurgin Khan himself, and personally started [4] for Bettia to direct the attack from that place.[5]

With the help of guides, Gurgin Khan and his forces reached the outskirts of the mountains of Nepal, and entered the

[1] Kirkpatrick's Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul, p. 270.

[2] Muzaffar Namah, Alld. Univ. MS., p. 334.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 335.
The Siyar makes no mention of these details.

[4] On the 25th of Zamadiulsani of 1176, according to the Siyar. The Muzaffar Namah simply mentions the month of Zamadiulsani.

[5] Siyar, II, p. 448. Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., V, p. 608).

interior of the valley of the Kurra by the end of January, 1763.[1] The Nawab in the meanwhile remained at Bettia, and showed no inclination to go any further. This is certainly interesting, and it illustrates the Nawab's well-known timidity and lack of soldierly talents. Mr. Vansittart did not exaggerate when he wrote,[2] "……for war he (*i.e.*, the Nawab) was totally unfit from his excessive and known timidity……" Gurgin Khan triumphantly led his men almost up to the neighbourhood of the fort of Mukwanpur which stood on the ridge dominating the valley of the Kurra.[3] The fort commanded a strategic point, guarding as it did one of the entrances into Nepal, and as such, its capture was absolutely essential. Gurgin Khan intended therefore to storm the fort, but before he could do so, he had to be master of the Mukwanpur ridge itself. He sent a detachment of his forces to force its way up to the summit of the pass.[4] There ensued a fierce encounter between the Nawab's troops and the Gurkhas. The latter offered a stout resistance against the invaders, and inflicted heavy losses on them. Mere numbers were in the beginning of no avail against the guerilla tactics of the defenders, and the number of the wounded and slain among the Nawab's troops was very large. The bloody engagement went on from morning till the afternoon, and at last the mountaineers decided to effect a retreat. Towards the evening the victors reached the top of the ridge overlooking the fort of Mukwanpur. Theirs was indeed a hard-won victory, and it reflected a great credit on their endurance and bravery.

Tired after the day's fight, the victors encamped on the summit of the pass to have some rest for the night. The night

[1] 5th of Rajab, 1176. (*Vide* Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, Alld. Univ. MSS., p. 782). The Siyar does not give the date of Gurgin Khan's arrival at the pass where the momentous battle took place.

[2] Narrative, II, p. 187. (This view is amply corroborated by other authorities too.)

[3] Kirkpatrick's Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul, pp. 24-5.

[4] Siyar, II, p. 448. Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., V, p. 608). Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, Alld. Univ. MSS., p. 782. Muzaffar-Namah, Alld. Univ. MSS., p. 335.

was dark,[1] and nobody suspected that the enemies were close by ready to make a surprise attack. The Nawab's army lay care-free and fatigued, and the officers were criminally negligent. They sadly neglected to keep watch on the movements of the enemies. The result was a foregone conclusion! Under cover of night, the latter issued from their mountain retreat and made a sudden attack. Gurgin Khan's men were taken absolutely unawares. There was a regular panic when the hill-men attacked them from all sides with stones, arrows, and musket-bolts.[2] The Nawab's troops could hardly offer any opposition, and panic-stricken as they were, they began to retreat precipitately down to the bottom of the pass, where Gurgin Khan had encamped. A large number among them were killed during retreat, and most of their guns and ammunitions were seized by the enemies.[3]

It was a disgraceful rout, and Gurgin Khan suddenly lost all hope of success. It must have been with a heavy heart that he witnessed the shattered army that had tragically belied all his bright expectations. His own reputation and that of his new army were blasted. The poor general grew anxious for his own safety, as punishment seemed to be in store for him at the hands of his disappointed master. He was in great despair.[4] He deemed it futile to proceed with his demoralised troops, whereas he expected to be signally censured, or punished, if he chose to come back to the Nawab.[5] He was so much ashamed of his failure, that he dared not show his face again to the latter. When he was informed of this disaster, the Nawab himself grew despondent and decided after some hesitation to recall the general.[6] It has been suggested by Kalyan Singh that the Nawab felt

1 Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., V, p. 608).

2 Siyar, II, p. 448. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, Alld. Univ. MSS., p. 782.

3 *Ibid*, and Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., V, p. 608). Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MSS.), p. 335.

4 Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. MSS.), p. 783.

5 Siyar, II, p. 448.

6 *Ibid*. Ali Ibrahim Khan had to be deputed to being the general back, as the latter was unwilling to appear before the Nawab out of shame and remorse.

thoroughly humiliated after this.[1] That the latter should have been bitterly humiliated is easy to understand. He had started with very great hopes, and he had now to return after sustaining a disgraceful defeat.

It is indeed curious that the Nawab made no further attempts and chose to return to Monghyr. The following reasons may be suggested for this :—

(*i*) The Nawab may have realised the futility of prolonging the expedition with his shattered army ;

(*ii*) Gurgin Khan's attitude was also not encouraging ;

(*iii*) The cost of further operations must have been prohibitive ;

(*iv*) Prithwi Narayan also urged him in the meanwhile to abandon the expedition;

(*v*) The quarrels between the Company's servants and the Nawab's officials suddenly assumed a serious character after the rejection of Mr. Vansittart's regulations by the council at Calcutta, and the Nawab therefore resolved to hasten to his capital.

Thus ended ignominiously the Nawab's abortive plan of conquest. The Nepal expedition not only caused a heavy drain on the Nawab's resources, but weakened the morale of his new forces. The Nawab's own prestige was sorely affected. The failure of the expedition was obviously due to a number of circumstances. The idea of attacking a mountainous country with an ill-trained army was intrinsically unsound. Besides, the difficulties that are to be met with and surmounted in such a country were practically unknown, while the chances of success against the guerilla tactics of the mountaineers were grossly miscalculated. Ill-concerted as the enterprise undoubtedly was, a study of the expedition makes it abundantly clear that it was ill-managed from the beginning, and its disgraceful conclusion surely resulted from the lack of ordinary prudence and leadership

[1] Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S, V, p. 608).

on the part of the Nawab's officers, and the supine negligence of Gurgin Khan himself. The attempt on the fort of Mukwanpur was both ill-judged and hasty. Gurgin Khan should himself have led his men on this occasion, but he remained encamped at a safe distance, and entrusted the command to inefficient people. On the whole, this unsuccessful expedition is an interesting and little known episode in the eventful history of Bengal during this period.

NANDALAL CHATTERJEE

ECONOMIC DEPRESSION IN ASSAM

The pressure of depression cannot be accurately measured, but a rough estimate of the loss resulting from the abnormal fall of prices may be formed. Assam is pre-eminently an agricultural province, no less than 89 p.c. of the whole population being returned in 1921 as dependents on some form of agricultural pursuit. More than three-fourths of the population were returned as ordinary cultivators. Since then there had been a rapid inflow of immigrants and considerable extension of ordinary cultivation. In the meantime industrial employments expanded only slowly, and on the evidence of the Banking Committee the home-industries have, on the whole, been on the decline. Hence it is reasonable to conclude that about 80 p. c. of the population are directly dependent on ordinary agriculture with few or unimportant subsidiary earnings while another 10 p. c. are dependent on agriculture in an indirect way.

The main agricultural products of the province are paddy, jute, sugar and cold-weather crops like mustard, various kinds of pulses, potatoes and other minor crops. Rice is by far the most important food crop that is grown extensively in all the plains districts. Jute and mustard are the most important non-food crops.

On the basis of the agricultural statistics of Assam for 1928-29 the Banking Enquiry Committee estimated the normal yield of the various rice crops as 1,830,000 tons and its value as 29·4 crores of Rupees at an average price of Rs. 5-12 per maund. The total outturn of jute (which was 116 p.c. of the normal in 1928-29) was 6,24,200 bales of 400 lbs. each and of mustard (which was 83 p.c. of the normal) 66,200 tons. Taking the average price of jute at Rs. 7-8 per maund and of mustard at Rs. 7-8 per maund the Banking Committee put the estimated

value of a normal jute crop at 1·9 crores and of a normal mustard crop at 1·6 crores. The normal yield of sugar in the province was about 50,000 tons of *gur* and taking the average price of *gur* at Rs. 9 per maund the value of normal sugar crop was calculated to be 12½ million rupees. The average annual gross value of the major crops was thus put at 34 crores of rupees.[1]

It is convenient to start from this position as the Banking Committee reported at a time when the advent of depression was hardly felt. The year 1928-29 is again the last year which approximates the normal fairly. The year 1929-30 was marked by disastrous floods, and from 1930 began the downward trend of prices which culminated in the final catastrophe of 1931.

Beginning with the flood of 1929 the agricultural history of the province is marked by a series of calamities. The flood itself did considerable damage in the Surma Valley and was followed by epidemics and heavy cattle mortality. In spite of fair winter crops distress conditions prevailed well up to the middle of next year. The situation was more normal in the Brahmaputra Valley except in the riparean areas where a failure of the pulses and mustard crop created a local distress calling for relief by liberal agricultural loans. The low prices of agricultural products, again, depressed the material condition of the people, and the Muhammadan immigrants depending on jute were particularly worse off owing to the low prices of jute. The next two years witnessed a progressive deterioration of the crop markets, a general breakdown of rural trades, a growing scarcity of money and the consequent distressed conditions. Weather conditions were generally fair in 1930, though in some places the crops were destroyed by drought, hailstorm and insects. Earthquake caused considerable damage in the Goalpara district. Last year there was another flood in the Brahmaputra Valley which damaged much property and crops. The percentage of outturn

[1] Report of the Assam Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, pp. 32-33.

per acre to the normal of the various major crops in the last three years were as follows :—

	1929.	1930.	1931.
Rice	%	%	%
Winter	86	79	90
Autumn	76	75	...
Spring	90	100	85
Jute	64	72	57
Sugarcane	78	83	86
Rape and Mustard ...	85	78	90

The average prices of the main agricultural produce of the province during the last three years were as follows :—

	1929.	1930.	1931.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Rice (common quality) per maund	5 8 0	4 12 0	3 12 0
Sugar (*gur*)	8 0 0	8 0 0	5 0 0
Rape and Mustard ...	7 0 0	6 8 0	4 14 0
Jute	7 8 0	4 0 0	5 8 0

The prices were generally higher in the Surma Valley than in the Brahmaputra Valley. No statistics of jute prices are published in the Government Gazette. The average prices, in this case, have been ascertained from the local markets. Jute is the most important crop in the immigrant settlements of the Brahmaputra Valley. With the fall of prices there has been a tendency to substitute rice for jute and other commercial crops. The following statements of the estimated area and outturn of major crops (made from Government statistics) will give an indication of the progress of cultivation.

Area in thousands of acres.

	1929.	1930.	1931.
Rice	4,295	4,305	4,530
Jute	168 *	192	95·6
Sugarcane	29	30·9	31·1
Rape and Mustard ...	336 (1929-30)	272 (1930-31)	286 (1931-32)

Outturn in thousands of tons.

	1929.	1930.	1931.
Rice	1,358·4	1,206·3	1,516·8
Sugar (raw or *gur*) ...	26	30	30·8
Rape and Mustard ...	61·8	50·3	48·7
Jutes (in bales of 400 lbs.) ...	315,000	618,800	190,000

The gross value of these crops at the prices prevailing in the local markets, compared with the normal value, as estimated by the Banking Committee would stand thus:

In crores of rupees.

	Normal value.	1929.	1930.	1931.
Rice	29·4	20·1	16·7	15·3
Jute	1·9	1·1	1·2	·5
Sugar	1·2	·5	·5	·4
Rape and mustard ...	1·6	1·1	·8	·6
Total ...	34·1	22·8	19·2	16·8

Thus the estimated shrinkage in the gross income of the people from the major crops during the last three years comes to about 42 crores.

* Average of 5 years 1925-29.

A fall in prices is in itself immaterial, if there is a corresponding fall in the burdens involved. Such burdens may be natural or contractual, or may be inherent in the price movements, as the prices of different articles move very differently in the market. It is well known that in a period of falling prices, the prices of agricultural produce move more sharply than the prices of manufactured goods. Thus, while the purchasing power of the agriculturist is curtailed, the prices of their requirements are not correspondingly reduced. It is indeed true that the consumption needs are, to some extent, elastic, and where the standard of living is low, this maladjustment need not be so serious at least in those cases where the people grow up their own food crops. The extent of misery will thus be less severe in rice districts than in the jute districts. But even in the rice districts the prices of such necessary articles such as salt, mustard oil, kerosine, clothes, etc., materially affect the welfare of the people. It is important to note that while the prices of agricultural products exhibited a downward tendency since 1928, the prices of other necessaries of life continued high till 1930, and in some cases have been on the rise. The following index (in which the average prices in 1927 and 1928 are represented as 100) will give a fair idea of the price-movements of some articles in the local markets during the last three years.

	1929.	1930.	1931.
Rice	90	82	63
Cereals	98·3	69·3	62·3
Pulses	108	91·5	62·8
Salt	85·1	85·1	87·2
Mustard oil	94·1	88·2	66·6
Kerosine	102	101	106
Sugar (*gur*)	95·5	95	51
Other minor necessaries (food articles)	121	100	62·4

The growing luxury of the people was a subject of general comment before the Banking Enquiry Committee. The demand for imported goods in this province has steadily increased in the last two decades, and so far as this demand represented a desire for better living it indicated a progressive improvement in the standard of life. A reduction of purchasing power gives a definite set-back to that progress and involves great hardships in those cases where better living has grown into a habit. Throughout 1929 and 1930 the prices of imported articles continued high in the province and the fall in 1931 has not always been commensurate with the fall of prices in the produce markets. Further the benefits of this fall have been largely neutralised by other factors to be discussed presently.[1]

Of the burdens arising from the contractual and semi-contractual relations land revenue and debt charges are most important. A fall in prices appreciates such burdens while it depreciates the value of property on which they rest. Elasticity in such cases is small and uncertain, as any natural means of adjustment is lacking. The ryots in permanently settled tracts enjoy the protection of their tenancies but no protection against a contingency such as the one under discussion. The Tenancy Acts proceed on the assumption that the value of land will continue to rise and provide for enhancements of rents

[1] No statistical measurement of the fall of the prices of imported articles in this province is possible owing to the paucity of materials. The Calcutta index for wholesale prices (which apparently includes both raw materials and manufactured goods) may, as compared with the index of prices for agricultural produce, give a rough idea of the price movements. The retail prices of imported goods in the districts are however less sensitive and more persistent.

	Index number of wholesale prices (Calcutta) (1913=100)
1927	148
1928	145
1929	141
1930	116
1931	96

with some amount of safeguard. They make no provision for any fall in values. Any adjustments are therefore left entirely to private arrangements and they come only slowly till the point of breakdown is reached. Since the Great War, the value of land rose considerably in this province and with that money rents were also continually on the increase. The burden of money rents in Sylhet varies from 12 to 18 p.c. of the value of the gross produce and of produce rents from 30 to 50 p.c. With the fall of prices to about 60 p.c. of the normal the burden of money rents swells up to 20 to 35 p.c. of the gross agricultural income. To appreciate the situation fully it is necessary to remember that the average outturn of crop was about 85 p.c. of the normal in the last three years. Produce rents are apparently independent of money values but with a fall in the value of crops the normal remuneration of the cultivators is correspondingly reduced.

The agriculturists in Assam are, however, mostly peasant-proprietors holding their land directly under the Government. The Zamindari system of the Bengal type prevails in two districts only. In the permanently settled parts of Sylhet, about half the land is held by the cultivating owners. The land revenue in Sylhet is exceedingly light about $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas per acre as against an average of Rs. 1-7-0 for the temporarily settled lands in the district. The total land revenue demand of the province for temporarily settled estates for ordinary cultivation was about rupees one crore in 1929-30. Such estates account for about 54 p.c. of the total area under ordinary cultivation in the province. [1] The normal gross value of the major crops on this area is about 18·2 crores or about 18 times the land revenue demands. In terms of gross produce the incidence is thus 6·5 p.c. on an average; but it appreciates to 10 to 12 p.c. owing to the fall in crop values. As against this should be put any remissions or postponement of land revenue demands. Complete informations

[1] See Reports on the Land Revenue Administration of Assam, 1929-30.

on this point are lacking but it appears that remissions have been small and unimportant except to the extent of two lakhs last year.

Rural indebtedness has always been a disquieting problem. The Banking Committee estimated the indebtedness of the province as 22 crores of rupees. Even though it is suggested that their estimate was rough and hasty it could not have been anything less than 20 crores of rupees. Perhaps the Committee's estimate errs the other way about, for at least an important part of their survey was carried on at a time when (after the harvest) the debts were in the process of liquidation. Anyhow, the total debt of the province was about 66 p.c. of the normal annual value of the produce or about 100 p.c. of the value of the produce in 1929. In the meantime there has possibly been some expansion both on capital and interest account whereas the repayments of old debts have proceeded slowly. It is indeed true that the traders who make advances on crops (directly or indirectly) regulate their advances according to crop values, and though negligible in the Surma Valley they normally provide more than one-third of rural finance in the other valley. Professional money-landers must have also restricted their business considerably in view of the depression, especially as most of their old investments have become "frozen." On the other hand the Co-operative societies show a steady expansion till 1930, and it was not till the last year that the crisis of confidence shattered the foundation of credit completely. Nevertheless the fact remains that the overdues of societies have assumed appalling proportions [1] and it is a common knowledge that as regards

[1] The overdues of credit societies of all classes in the province rose to 40 p.c. in 1929 30 as against 32·8 p.c. in previous year. Subsequent figures are not available. The following statement of overdues of the agricultural societies in the Surma Valley will prove instructive :

Year.	Total No. of Societies.	Number of societies having no overdues.	Number of societies with overdues.						
			1-5%.	6-80%.	11-20%.	20-40%.	40-60%.	60-80%.	over 80%.
1929·30	65·9	89	18	23	37	88	93	56	189
1930-31	674	7·4	9	16	15	64	78	98	263

the realisation of dues the money-lenders and other private parties have fared worse still. Hence it is reasonable to conclude that the volume of indebtedness in the province in January, 1932 cannot be much less than 75 p.c. of what it was in 1929. Even at a lower figure it would be equal to the annual value of crops at the prevailing prices.

Fortunes of agriculturists are naturally dependent upon the freaks of nature.

In an area such as the most parts of the Surma Valley which is peculiarly liable to floods the people normally live on the distress margin with scanty reserve power of their own. The people in the Brahmaputra Valley are more fortunate in this respect, though of late floods, earthquakes and other natural calamities have been of frequent occurrence. To some extent such natural burdens are a part of normal economy and are to be taken as a matter of course in the ordinary scheme of life. But disastrous burdens such as the floods of 1929 are exceptional and need to be reckoned on a different basis. It is not possible to measure such burdens, as the requisite materials are lacking. Losses, they inflict, are both direct and indirect, for not only the property and the crops may be destroyed but vitality and productive capacity may be effected. Thus the floods of 1929 were followed by epidemics and though the death rate was not exceptionally high, the health of the people was below normal throughout the year. An idea of the direct losses from those floods in 1929 may be formed from the extent of relief operations which they called for. The distribution in gratuitous relief from the Government and private funds in the two districts (including the cost of rice supplied on credit in Cachar) came to about 3½ lakhs. Besides, in Sylhet test relief works were kept open for about 6 months employing over 74,000 workers. Further, the advances as agricultural loans in 1929-30 in the two districts (which were practically a part of the relief operations) rose to over 28½ lakhs. Thus the relief operations in Sylhet and Cachar involved about 33 lakhs of rupees. At a modest estimate the loss in property

and cattle would be at least 10 times this amount, *i.e.*, 3·3 crores.

It needs hardly be noted that the depression set in before the people had time to make any appreciable recovery after the floods.

In a study of this nature an attempt to correlate burdens with income is naturally called for. But the task is difficult, if only because agriculture is a mode of life, and not a business in the ordinary sense. According to the census of 1921 nearly 96 p.c. of the ordinary agricultural population of the province cultivated for themselves, and out of over 6 million persons supported by agriculture, 140,793 only were farm servants and farm labourers. Outside his fields an average cultivator has little or no employments, and so his labour (which is the main item of cost) is not subject to the usual costing process. His normal remuneration is the surplus value of the crops after the payment of rent and other dues, including a part of his debts which he incurs for the purchase of seeds, manures and other requirements. His capital consists mainly in his pair of bullocks which he provides either from his own savings or by loans. Where the holding is large and the conditions are otherwise favourable, he may find full employment for himself and his family and his surplus may be enough to keep him over debts or even to leave him a small saving. Where the holding is small or the conditions are otherwise unfavourable, a man has no sufficient employment for himself and other members of his family and he manages to get on with extreme difficulty. In this, as in other things, he goes on in his traditional way with hardly any scope or aptitude for competitive employments. Hence, any calculation of profit on scientific lines becomes largely a baffling process.

In an estimate drawn up in connection with a jute sale society at Nowgong (in or about 1927) the cost of cultivation of one bigha of jute land was put down at Rs. 70-8.[1] The

[1] Report of the Assam Provincial Banking Committee, p. 32.

normal yield was given at 6 mds. per bigha on an average. The price of jute fluctuated widely, and though it rose to even Rs. 20 on occasions, the usual fluctuations were between Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 per md. At a price below Rs. 11-12 the jute would have been selling at a loss whereas at Rs. 15 the net profit would come to about 22 p.c. of the gross value. While the wages continued high till 1930 the price of jute came down, on an average, to Rs. 7-8 in 1929 and Rs. 4 in 1930. The cultivation of jute thus involved heavy losses and this is reflected in the very considerable restriction of jute cultivation in Assam even without any propaganda.

In a recent estimate, supplied to me by the Manager of the Government Experimental Farm at Karimganj, the cost of cultivation of jute per acre in the Surma Valley is put down at Rs. 61-3-0; and the yield per acre as 12 mds. The cost of production of jute would thus be about Rs. 5-2 per md. At an average price of Rs. 6 this makes a profit of Rs. 10-13 per acre (and this is less than one-sixth of the gross value).

Jute-cultivation is however a highly speculative operation. In case of paddy the cost of cultivation in the Surma Valley is estimated at Rs. 34-12 per acre, the average yield being 25 mds. of paddy per acre. At a price of Rs. 2 per md. the gross value of this paddy comes to Rs. 50 to which Rs. 7-8 is added as the value of straw (40 mds. @ 3 as. per md.). Thus the profit comes to Rs. 22-12 per acre (or about 40 p. c. of the value of the gross produce).

This estimate, however, needs to be modified in two respects. One, the average price of paddy was much below Rs. 2 per md. last year (or even at present). Rs. 1-8 would perhaps be the correct figure. Secondly, in the interior of this valley straw is still largely regarded as a non-economic goods and does not bring any money income. Allowing for these two factors we may put down the present profit of rice-cultivation at about 25 p.c. of the gross value. This was about 40 p.c. before the depression, as can be inferred from the average proportion of produce-rents to the gross outturn of produce.

In the above estimates no allowance is of course, made for debts or interests on capital invested.

To complete the picture it is necessary to refer to other elements of rural structure. It is usual in discussions of this kind to take the cultivator as the only considerable person. Yet the cultivator as cultivator is not the only figure in rural life. It is true he is numerically most important and, in Assam, provides the type of more than 75 p.c. of the population. Nevertheless there are other minorities considerable in number and not always socially negligible. At the lowest end of the scale is the landless labourers who live on hired work on the fields or in the villages. Not a few of the peasants (12·5 p.c. in 1921) again combine husbandry with hired work or some other occupations. Many have again various professional employments such as weaving, mat-making, fishing, etc. In the Surma Valley the professional traders such as the Marwaris are not so important and the traders in the villages come largely from the agricultural classes. Money-lending is also a well-diffused subsidiary profession even among the agriculturists. Prosperous peasant-proprietors have sometimes tenants under them and a part of their income comes from the rents realised. Then there is in Sylhet the important class of small rentier mirasdars whose peculiar position and social status make them the natural leader of rural life.

It is important to bear these facts in mind in order to grasp the situation fully. For the depression has not merely depressed prices but has narrowed down the field for other employments. It has, above all, created a panicky situation in which all work, employments and dealings come to a stand-still. A man goes to his field or profession not in a spirit of confidence. He prefers to wait and abide by time before taking any risk in any sort of venture. Trade and commerce naturally shrink in a period of depression and the situation is aggravated by the political discontent in the country. Wages move slowly even when the field of employment is curtailed, and though they

continued high in 1930 throughout the province, employments were irregular and uncertain. In 1931 the labour market practically collapsed and wages of unskilled labour came down even 50 p.c. below the normal of previous years. The artisans and craftsmen have been equally worse off. The only important home-industry of the province is handloom industry. Weaving is less important in the Surma Valley than in the Assam Valley where practically every housewife plies her loom mostly for articles of domestic consumption. Nevertheless it, in many cases, brings an income sufficient for paying up their land revenue or for meeting a few needs. In both the valleys there are professional weavers who depend mainly on their looms. The floods of 1929 had a serious effect on the weavers of the Surma Valley, and throughout the province the prices of yarn ruled high for the greater part of that year. From January 1930 there was a slump in the cloth-market and after a brief period of recovery the market again grew dull. Silk industry which is more profitable has also shared a similar fate.

The cumulative effect of all this has been a progressive deterioration of the rural system, and if the situation is not still so desperate, that is because the marginal elasticity of the system is considerable. The Indian peasants are notorious for their dogged fortitude, and their standard of life, though low, exhibits a marked degree of quick adaptability to changing conditions. Besides, in Assam, the rural system is still characterised by an element of self-sufficiency, not so much in evidence in other provinces. In this province, landless workers are again few in number and the people (except in the immigrant settlements) rely mainly upon food crops raised from their own lands. Nevertheless the tales of distress are growing in volume. Money is everywhere in demand but appears to have become scarce. The ryots cannot pay their rents, the debtor cannot pay their debts. The money-lenders have practically closed their business while the Co-operative Societies, faced with heavy over-dues and frozen investments, find it hard to carry on.

Land is going on a-begging for sale at half or even one-third its former value. Labourers wander in search of employments while the artisans and the craftsmen drag it on in extreme penury. Hence the elements of disruption are gathering strength and unless the situation materially improves this year we have a dangerous crisis ahead. Organised attempts to resist money-lenders and land-owners are already reported from certain quarters. Desperation begets a spirit of defiance and loosens the normal ties that uphold the fabric of society.

It is evident that even with the brightest prospects of trade revival, the process of normal adjustment must necessarily be slow and painful. In the meantime the whole rural structure needs a support and a balance for which organised guidance and assistance are essential. The public and the Government are not callous but a machinery competent to evolve a co-ordinated economic programme is lacking. Isolated attempts to meet specific difficulties prove largely infructuous and what is required is a more comprehensive policy for which the need has been urged in various quarters for the last two years. Assam is rich in raw materials and her virgin soil is capable of yielding a rich variety of crops, if exploited in the right manner. Agriculture in this province still follows the primitive lines, and would admit of considerable improvements in various ways. The distribution of population is at present largely uneven and this can be removed by well-planned programme of internal migration. For their surplus food crops the people of the province have a market near at hand in the tea-gardens and also in the neighbouring jute districts of Bengal. Again, when exchange economy fails a scheme of what may be called a living economy naturally claims attention. Such an economy consists in making the people self-supporting in matters of primary necessities of life—such as food, clothing and housing. In a province where land is fairly abundant and cheap, where the building materials can be gathered from the neighbouring forests and where large sections of the people are traditionally attached to the loom, a

re-organisation of the rural economy on self-sufficient lines need not be difficult. This would again give an impetus to the rural industries and provide additional employment for the people. In any scheme of rural reconstruction, however, the problem of rural indebtedness must receive special attention. For unless the pressure of debts in minimised and facilities for cheap credit are widened no scheme of reconstruction can save the poorer classes from ruin.

DINESCHANDRA DUTTA

NIGHT ON THE HOOGHLY

The moon is weaving a network of light
With the night-blackened leaves of the trees,
The cricket cheerfully chirrups a song,
Stolen by an enamoured breeze
A murmuring river, shimmering lies
Where touched by that fairy the Moon
With her wand, for this river had been sullen and brown
When the Day's King had seen it at noon.
The fisherman's song or is it a psalm ?
With the calmness its harmony keeps
The soulful sad tune lulls the cricket's gay song,
And rocks the sampans asleep.
Up above in the sky, the stars are all out
Some twinkling, some grave, looking down
On this calm scene, in the midst of which
Peace is born to the River of Brown.

R. J. N. MAHER

PYTHAGORAS THE VEGETARIAN

Ever since Western scholars have occupied themselves with India's time-honoured culture, they have noted again and again that all the utterances of her spirituality are characterized by a prominently *religious attitude*, extant even in her attainments in the historical and scientific disciplines.

This religious attitude too is responsible for the depth of her admirable *philosophical speculation*. It accounts, moreover, for the subtlety and rigour of the postulates of her various *ethical systems*, and explains the important part which those postulates once played, and partly still play, in her cultural life.

One of the most conspicuous of those postulates is the *prohibition of animal diet*. The Mahabharata, the Smritis, and numerous other Sanskrit works, down to the earliest of the Samkhya scriptures, bear testimony to the fact that vegetarianism was once enjoined by Hinduistic ethics, where it still survives as an indispensable postulate amongst most of the modern Brahmin clans.

Asoka's edicts eloquently speak of the practical influence this postulate exercised on the daily life of the great Buddhist ruler and his zealous subjects.

The strictly vegetarian mode of life of nearly the whole population of present Gujrat, Kathiavad, Cutch, and Rajputana tells its tale of the lovely influence of Shvetambar Jainism, which has been counting vegetarianism amongst its chief restrictions since time immemorial.

Yet, if the present historical theories are correct, vegetarianism was not confined to India, even at the time of Mahavira Svami and Lord Buddha. The far-off *Occident* also could boast of a powerful preacher of vegetarianism in those remote days, although it must be admitted that his practical influence did not

outlive his fame. This preacher of vegetarianism was none else but the *Greek philosopher Pythagoras.* History supposes him to have been born about 590 B.C. on the island of Samos in the Ionian Sea, to have undertaken vast travels all over the Old World, and finally to have settled down at Crotona, in South Italy, where King Numa Pompilius became his admirer and disciple.

An account of Pythagoras and his teachings is given in the "*Metamorphoses*" of the Latin poet *Ovid,* who died A.D. 18 in exile, somewhere on the shores of the Black Sea, far off from the refined civilization of his beloved Rome.

Ovid's art is famous for its elegance, its gracefulness and gaiety. Some of his works, such as the "*Ars Amandi*" (the Latin "Kama-Sastra"), are even frivolous, if not lascivious, and made his own by no means prudish contemporaries feel scandalized.

These stanzas of the "*Metamorphoses*" however which contain Ovid's account of Pythagoras, seem to reveal quite a new and a serious face of the dallying poet. They are permeated by a wonderfully sincere tone of sympathy with the "Samian Sage," and of partisanship with his doctrine of self-denying compassion. They make the reader feel as if he were listening not to the notorious author of the "*Ars Amandt,*" but to a most rigorous moral preacher, who does not lack a dose of pastoral pathos either.

Fascinating as Ovid's account of Pythagoras may thus be from the literary standpoint, it is not without interest for the historian too, to whose knowledge it may be said to add some new details.

These considerations may justify the full account being rendered here in literal translation. It has the form of a *sermon delivered by Pythagoras before King Numa Pompilius,* and runs as follows (*Metamorphoses,* Liber XV, stanzas 6-178) :

"At that place (*viz* , Crotona), there lived a man, who was a Samian by birth. His hatred of tyranny had prompted him to leave Samos and its ruler, and to live in voluntary exile.

"By spiritual means, he approached the gods, remote though they be in their celestial spheres, and whatsoever nature withholds from the human eye, he perceived with the mental one. After he had fathomed all things by reason and attentive scrutiny, he would give out the essence. Before assemblies of silently listening men, whom his words struck with wonder, he would proclaim his teachings, speaking of the origin of the universe, the causes of things, and what their nature was, what God was, where the snows came from, how lightning was caused, whether Jupiter or the winds were thundering from the shaking clouds, how earthquakes came about, by what laws the stars were moving, and whatsoever lies hidden from human knowledge.

"He too was the first to argue against animal food being placed on the table, and to pronounce words as the following, which, reasonable though they be, yet did not find believers:

'Beware, oh mortals,' he exclaimed, 'of defiling your bodies with sinful food! There are cereals, there are fruits, bending the branches down by their weight, and luxurious grapes on the vines. There are sweet vegetables and herbs which the flame can render palatable and mellow. Nor are you denied milk, nor honey, fragrant of the aroma of the thyma flower. The bountiful earth offers you an abundance of pure food, and provides for meals obtainable without slaughter and bloodshed.

'It is the beasts that appease their hunger with flesh, and yet not all of them. For the horses and sheep and cattle live on grass. Armenia's tigers and fierce lions, however, and wolves and bears, and others whose nature is wild and brutish, they do delight in bloody meals. Oh how atrocious is it to think how entrails are buried in entrails, how one greedy body grows fat on another creature's body, which it has devoured, and how one animal lives on the death of another!

'It appears that of all the wealth that benign Earth, the best of mothers, provides, nothing pleases thee unless thou canst inflict dreary wounds with cruel teeth, and imitate the Cyclops and their jaws. Nor dost thou seem able to appease the cravings

of thy greedy and degenerate stomach, unless thou killest another creature!

'But in that remote age which we are accustomed to call the Golden one everybody was content with the fruit of trees, and with such vegetables as the soil produces. Nobody would pollute his lips by the touch of animal blood. At that time, birds moved safely in the air, fearlessly did the hare gambol in the midst of the meadow, nor did the fish fall a victim to the angler's hook, in his easy confidence. In short there was no persecution, no fear of being tricked into ruin, and all the creatures were at peace.

'But since some unfortunate originator, whosoever he was, began to begrudge the lions their meals, and allowed animal food to enter his body, the way to atrocity has been open. It is possible that first of all it was the blood of ravenous beasts only that stained and heated the killing knife. There, man ought to have stopped. For in their case, we may well exculpate ourselves by asserting with self-complacence that we had to put to death those brutes, because they had attempted our lives. But admitted that they had been put to death justly, nothing can justify our eating them.

'Further crime has arisen therefrom. The boar is believed to have been the first victim deserving death, because with his protruding snout, he uprooted the seeds and spoilt the harvest of the year. Then the goat is said to have been slaughtered at the altar of the avenging Bacchus, because it had browsed the vines. Both of them were ruined by their offence. What sin however did the sheep commit, those peaceful creatures, born to protect man, that carry nectar in their full udders, and offer their wool as soft coverings, thus being more useful by their life than death? What offence did the cattle commit, those creatures without deceit and malice, creatures so innocent, so harmless, born only to suffer hardships?

'Ungrateful, unworthy indeed of the gift of corn is the man who has the heart to slay the cultivator of his fields, to hit with

his axe the neck of the confiding creature, from which the burden of the plough has just been removed, the same neck that has become worn by the repeated labour of turning up its owner's hard soil, and of securing his harvest!

'Nor is it enough that such crimes were committed! But people even made the gods responsible for their atrocities, and believe the divine power to rejoice in the murder of the toiling bullock.

'The sacrificial animal, void of the least blemish, distinguished by beautiful shape (for it is dangerous to be found pleasing), and adorned with fillets and gold, is placed before the altar. Unsuspecting, it hears the incantations, and sees its forehead between the horns marked with the same corn it once helped to cultivate! And then the death-blow stretches it to the ground, and its blood stains the knife which it perchance beheld reflected in the clear water of the sacrificial basin!

'Then they tear the entrails from the still living body to examine them, and pretend thus to find out the will of the gods.

'And of such flesh (I wonder whence comes such a greed for impure food in man!) you dare to make a meal, oh human race!

'Oh I implore you, don't do it! Listen to my warning! Be bold and realize that whenever you gratify the appetite of your palate, by tasting the flesh of cattle, you feast on your own field-labourers!

'And now, since a god inspires my lips, I will duly obey the inspiring deity, and throw open my Delphi. Yea throw open heaven itself, and disclose the oracles of the sublime mind. Great truths will I sing, which the intelligence of our forefathers never fathomed, and which have long remained hidden. For it is a joy to move high up amongst the stars, it is a joy to travel beyond the clouds, leaving far behind the earth and our dull abodes, to stand on the shoulders of mighty Atlas, to watch from far away the human race, as they wander far and wide,

devoid of all reason, and a joy it is thus to admonish them, the trembling ones, in their fear of death, and to unroll the book Fate :

'Oh race terrified by the shape of cold death, why do you fear Styx, why fear vain shadows and empty words, the creations of poets and the dangers of an unreal world ?

'Do not believe that our bodies could possibly be exposed to any further hardships, after once the flame of the funeral pyre or the decay of old age has consumed them ! The souls however can never die, but leaving their former habitations, they live on in new abodes, which they enter to dwell there.

'So I was, at the time of the Trojan War, Euphorbus, the son of Panthous (for I do remember), whose breast was pierced by the heavy spear of the younger son of Atreus. Only recently, I recognised the shield which I had once borne on my left arm, in a temple of Juno at Argos, the city of Abas.

'All things change, there is no death anywhere. The spirit comes from here and goes thither, starts from there and comes hither, and occupies whatever abode it chooses. From wild beasts it passes into human bodies, and our own spirit passes into wild beasts. It can never perish, but just as soft wax can be modelled into new designs, just as it does not remain in its former state, nor keeps one and the same shape, and yet remains one and the same itself, just so do I teach the soul to remain always the same, wandering into various forms.

'Therefore, lest piety be vanquished by gluttonous greed, I warn you as a seer, refrain from expelling kindred souls by sinful murder! Do not allow blood to be fed on blood!

'Since I am sailing thus on a vast ocean, having given all my sails to the winds, let me continue :

'In all the world, there is nothing that lasts. All things are floating, and every shape is formed so that it must change for ever and ever.' ''

In the following stanzas (179-452), the inconsistency of all shapes and conditions is dwelt upon and exemplified, such as the alternation of day and night, the seasons, weather, geological phenomena, diseases and their cures, spontaneous generation, historical happenings, etc., etc.

Finally, Ovid makes the philosopher conclude his long lecture with these words (stanzas 453-478) :

" But I must not digress too far, my steeds forgetting, as it were, to hasten towards the goal! To make it short, the sky itself with all that exists under it, the earth with all that is upon it, all things keep changing their shapes.

" So do we too, part of the universe as we are, since we consist not of body exclusively, but also of agile souls, and we can choose as our abodes the bodies of wild beasts, or we can enter the bodies of tame cattle.

" So we ought to leave safe and unmolested those bodies, since they may possibly be serving as abodes to the souls of our parents or brothers or of people linked to us by whatsoever bonds, or of other human creatures! Careful ought we to be not to load our stomachs with Thyestean meals.

" To what sin does the impious man give himself up who cuts the throat of the calf, coldly shutting his ear to its woeful wailing, or the man who is capable of butchering the kid, in spite of its bleating, which so closely resembles the weeping of little human children? Or the man who can feast on the fowl that he once used to feed with his own hand! All of them are, as it were, on the way to the murder of human beings. For insignificant is the step from the former deed to the full crime, and subtle the transition from one to the other.

" Therefore, let the bullock go on ploughing till he will die of old age! Let the sheep supply you with a means of protection from the cold north wind and its terrors! Let the goat, returning from the pastures, offer her udder to your hands to be milked! Have done with nets and foot-snares, with nooses and with huntsman's tricks! Leave off deceiving the bird with

lime rods, desist from scaring the hart into ruin with stringed feathers, and give up concealing crooked hooks in deceiving baits!

"If you insist upon killing creatures that harm you, well confine yourself to killing them! Beware of letting your lips touch animal diet! Pure and gentle be the food you partake of!"

This account of Ovid's with its clearly pronounced postulate of vegetarianism raises the question as to the origin of the Pythagorean teachings with greater force than any other of the traditions concerning the "Samian Sage," scanty and uncertain as they are.

The Jaina Religion, which proclaims strict vegetarianism as one of its chief ethical postulates even now-a-days, had been spread in India, centuries before Pythagoras, in the shape of the teachings of Parshvanatha, the 23rd Jina, and his predecessors, and during Pythagoras's life-time, Varddhamana, the 28th Jina, was teaching and preaching there. So was Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, whose ethics then likewise enjoined the protection of animal life in the form of a more or less strict vegetarianism. The Samkhya doctrine too, which is full of rules commanding it, existed at that time.

It is a historical fact that Pythagoras did visit the East, and it is known that wherever he travelled, he was guided by the wish to study the wisdom of all those countries. So he was an adept in the mysteries of Ancient Egypt, and tradition says that the doctrines and practices of the Jews and even of the Druids were no less familiar to him than the highest of the Orphic secrets.

Thus, historically speaking, it is quite possible that Pythagoras's postulate of vegetarianism may go back to the Jaina, the Buddhist, or the Samkhya ethical ideal, forming another of the numerous rivulets and rivers that streamed forth from the rich source of Indian Wisdom.

The probability of this supposition is raised to a certainty, if one realises that Pythagoras bases his postulate of vegetarianism

on the doctrine of metempsychosis ("Punar-janma") which is indeed purest Indian philosophy. It need not be added that the instances of Pythagoras remembering his former births ("Jati-smara") are of the very same type as those of the Jatakas and Jaina legends.

It will only have to be ascertained from which of the three ancient Indian traditions Pythagoras derived his wisdom—from Samkhya Philosophy, Jaina Philosophy, or Buddhist Philosophy, all three of which can raise their claim with equal right.

Perhaps the question will never be decided.

CHARLOTTE KRAUSE

ON A FOND LOOK

I rose to go with half-reluctant feet
From that old house I knew and loved so well,
With aching heart, though yet I could not tell
Wherefore my soul did long her eyes to meet;
When, turning round with anguish, to repeat
The painful words of good-bye or farewell,
My eye did rove all quick and sudden fell
On her young face still shining with love's sweet.
She gave me one fond look that told me clear
Her heart was mine. I left the house alone
Soul-filled but thirsting still and sad. O Love,
Thou mayst not give me more : thy night is near.
But e'en when life is o'er, her pleasures flown,
That look shall still be mine, all joys above.

GOBI

THE PROBLEM BEFORE THE INDIAN (NATIVE) STATES

Of the many grave problems that have confronted the delegates at the last two 'R.T.C.'s in the task of drafting a constitution for India the two that overshadowed others and loomed rather large in the deliberations are those of the position of the Native States and of the minorities in the future constitution of India. In this paper we propose to discuss the problem of the native states in relation to the future constitution of India. It is needless to point out that it is simply impossible to discuss the problem in all its bearings in a short article like this. What can be done is simply to jot down the outlines of the picture. The first thing that we should enquire is what is exactly the nature of the problem. We shall try to state it in the most simple form and in plain English. We must of course make some assumptions which may for all practical purposes be taken for granted. In the first place the structure of the Indian government which was so long on a unitary basis is going to be replaced by one of a federal type. Secondly, both in the units of the federation (*i.e.* provinces and the 'States' if they come in) and the federal government there would be complete responsibility of the executive government to legislatures elected on a wide democratic franchise with such safeguards as are required in the interest of stability of the constitution in the transitional stage and as are not opposed to the best interests of the country. As a corollary to the second proposition it follows that the control of Whitehall over the internal administration of India totally disappears; our external affairs although subject to some limitations for some time to come it will be exercised at least. Of course the position of the crown as the apex of the constitutional system remains intact with this difference that many of the powers that were exercised through British ministers will in

future be exercised through His Majesty's Indian ministers. All this applies to 'British India' as distinguished from 'Indian India' or the native states, which covers two-fifths of the area of India excluding Burma and one-fifth of its total population. The question is where would they stand? They cannot possibly maintain the *status quo*; apart from other considerations their geographical position hopelessly mixing them up with British Indian territories and dovetailing them into the Indian provinces militates against their retaining the '*status quo*' while the other parts of India enjoy responsible government. The point needs a little elaboration. At present the responsibility of internal administration in varying degrees rests with the princes; the paramount power, that is, the Crown acting through the Secretary of State and the Governor-General in Council or in plain English, the Political Department of the Government of India headed by the Viceroy does not *as a rule* intervene in the internal administration of the States. I lay special emphasis on the phrase "as a rule" which will be explained presently. As regards defence and external affairs the responsibility rests on the paramount power or the Viceroy and the Political Department controlled by the Home Government. The Crown stands as the nexus between the 'British India' and the 'Indian India.' The machinery through which it operates is the present irresponsible Government of India acting as the agent of the Crown. We have now come to the crux of the problem—which is how to fit them into the new environment created by the introduction of responsibility in the Government of India. If the native rulers contend that their relation with the Crown is personal, that the duties and obligations imposed by the treaties were with the Crown and not with the Government of India irrespective of the change in its constitution, and therefore the matters in respect of which they come into contact with the Government of British India must be handled by some personal representative of the Crown as is actually the attitude of a section of the princes—then the status

of the new government of India loses much of its significance; or if they contend that their relationship with the Crown can be transformed into the new government of India, in other words that they can be made to become members of the federation only with their own consent and on their own terms, that also raises a serious obstacle to the formation of a federation. We are not going to examine—for we do not presume to be competent to do it—the legal aspect of such claims put forward by the princes. What we are concerned with here, is whether the princes have anything really to gain by standing aloof from the All-India federation that is to come, by taking a position like that described before, assuming that it is tenable at all. At the time of the opening of the first Round Table Conference the prospects of the princes agreeing to the idea of an All-India Federation with the provinces of British India and the States as component units were anything but bright and it looked as if the R.T.C. would founder on the two rocks of the problem of communal settlement and that of the states. Happily, however, all the fears and suspicions were set at rest by the unexpected attitude of the princes who in the very early stages of the deliberations readily took up the idea of an All-India Federation. The details of the federal scheme unit that would be acceptable to them were not discussed. It cannot of course be expected that they would forego all the privileges and concessions they at present enjoy and enter into the federation on the same basis as the provinces. But these questions were left to be threshed out later. All the same the principle was almost unanimously accepted by the leading princes. Later on however a section of the princes headed by the Maharajah of Patiala backed out of the position accepted at the Conference and put forward an alternative scheme for adjustment of their relations with the future government of India ; but still greater weight attaches to the volume of opinion among the princes that stick to the idea of federation. We may therefore take it that the main body of the princes will

willingly come into the federation that will be set up when the new constitution is completed. Now it is pertinent to ask, are those princes who are agreeable to the idea of federation—and be it noted, by the way, under certain well-defined conditions which will be pointed out presently—going to be losers in any way? Or to put the same thing in a different way is wisdom and judgment on the side of those rulers who are prepared to enter the proposed Indian federation or of those who are holding out against it? To answer the question it is necessary to compare the present position of the states with that with which they would exchange it under the proposed federation. It is very difficult to give an accurate picture of the relationship in which the states stand with the so-called 'paramount power' which practically means the Crown acting through the Secretary of State and the Governor-General in Council who are responsible ultimately to the British Parliament. The conception of paramountcy is a very vague one—it is an historical growth and something organic in its nature and therefore dynamic. As the authors of the Butler Report point out "'The relationship of the paramount power with the states is not merely a contractual relationship, resting on treaties made more than a century ago. It is a *living, growing relationship shaped by circumstances and policy, resting as Professor Westlake has said, on a mixture of history, theory and modern fact.*'' [1] Its vagueness is to a great extent explained by the fact of immense diversity prevailing as between states not only in size, population, wealth, etc., but also in their political status. As pointed out in the same report —"'Of the total number of states forty only have treaties with the Paramount Power; a larger number have some form of engagement or Sanad; the remainder have been recognised in different ways.'' In respect of area and population also they present a similar variety. Naturally therefore the relationship between say, the crown, for brevity, and the native states

[1] Report of the Indian States Committee, 1928-29, p. 23.

cannot be compressed in a single uniform formula. Then from its very nature the conception does not lend itself to a rigid and formal definition, paramountcy will vanish as soon as it is brought within a fixed category of political relationship. Thus Sir William Lee-Warner in his work after setting forth the attempts made by different publicists to bring it under a recognised political category, none of which in his opinion was satisfactory, concludes "There is no question that there is a parmount power in the British Crown, but *perhaps its extent is wisely left undefined.* There is a subordination in the native states, but perhaps it is *better understood and not explained.*"[1] The last sentence requires to be noted particularly.

The conclusion of the Butler Report on this point also deserves careful notice. They observe "what then is the correct view of the relationship between the states and the Paramount Power? It is generally agreed that *the states are* sui generis, *that there is no parallel to their position in history, that they are governed* by a body of convention and usage not quite like anything in the world. They fall outside both international and ordinary municipal law, but they are governed by rules which form a very special part of the constitutional law of the empire."[2]

The basis of the relationship is partly on treaties, engagements and Sanads where they exist and partly or we may say mainly on usage and sufferance and also political practice as established by the decisions of the Government of India in particular cases. To the question what are the duties and obligations which the states of India owe for the right of protection and partnership which they have received, Sir W. Lee-Warner answers "the *nexus* of rights and duties, which unites the British Government and the native principalities, does not admit of reduction to a formal statement of account. Their rights as well as their duties have expanded, and will continue to expand, as the circumstances which surround the union vary

[1] W. Lee-Warner, The Native States of India, Preface, p. xi.

[2] Butler Report, p. 25.

in the course of years. There are no recognised laws of political growth, and since the affairs of India are being more and more brought under the direct control of Parliament, no one can foresee what changes in the Indian organisation will be required to maintain the union of states under the protection and political control of His Majesty with the central authority whose supremacy they recognise."[1]

Although the obligations of the native states rest on various factors—sources mentioned avove—yet it is very difficult to make out a comprehensive list of such obligations. The authors of the joint report have tried to sum up in very general terms what paramountcy connotes in the following words:—"The states are guaranteed security from without; the Paramount Power acts for them in relation to foreign powers and other states, and it intervenes when the internal peace of their territories is seriously threatened. On the other hand the state's relations to foreign powers are those of the Paramount Power; they share the obligation for the common defence; and they are under a general responsibility to the good government and welfare of their territories."[2] They further observe: The independence of the states in matters of internal administration carries with it the counter-obligation of non-interference in British Indian affairs. * * * On the other hand, we believe, there is no desire to cross the frontier. Rulers and politicians alike recognise that they are best employed in attending to their own progress. The obligation of mutual abstention must be always borne in mind in estimating the future position of the Native States in a changing Indian Empire."[3]

Although the position has been summed up above in very general terms it must not be taken as presenting a cut-and-dried

[1] Lee-Warner, Native States of India, Ch. VII, p. 190.
[2] Montagu-Chelmsford Report, Ch. X, para. 297.
[3] *Ibid*, para. 299.

formula. It, of course, furnishes the key-note to the understanding of the nature of the relationship subsisting between the native states and the paramount power but at the same time leaving room for adequate elasticity in the conception of paramountcy. The nexus of rights and duties which binds together the British Government in India and the native states is based on a number of factors, *e.g.*, royal prerogatives, law of nature, treaties and sanads, usage and sufferance—of which the last is perhaps the most important channel of such rights and duties. It is this factor also that has made the relationship so elastic in character. As Lee Warner aptly points out "usage performs a double function. It amends and adapts to circumstances duties that are embodied in treaties of ancient date, and it supplies numerous omissions from the category of duties so recorded."[1]

The effects of this factors were also pointed out by the Government of India in a pronouncement in the year 1877 in the following words:

"The paramount supremacy of the British Government is a thing of gradual growth; it has been established partly by conquest; partly by treaty; partly by usage; and for a proper understanding of the relations of the British Government to the native states, regard must be had to the incidents of this *de facto* supremacy, as well as to treaties and charters in which reciprocal rights and obligations have been recorded and the circumstances under which those documents were originally framed. In the life of states as well as of individuals, documentary claims may be set aside by overt acts; and a uniform and long-continued course of practice acquired by the party against whom it tells, whether that party be the British Government or the native state, must be held to exhibit the relations which in fact subsist between them."[2]

[1] Lee-Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[2] Butler Report, para. 41.

It is thus clear that the idea of paramountcy is like a will-o'-the-wisp eluding one's grasp as soon as one wants to catch it. We can at least try to understand it by reference to concrete activities of the paramount power under certain heads, say, external affairs, relations between states themselves, production both from external aggression as well as insurrection within their borders, intervention in case of disputed succession, for administration during minority, in case of gross misrule or disaffection to the crown, or for the suppression of inhuman practices, for the adjustment of matters affecting the interests of India as a whole. It must be noted that it is for the paramount power itself to decide whether and when necessity for intervention has arisen and also to what extent it may be exercised. Well may we understand the attitude of the authors of the Butler Report when they say, "we have endeavoured, as others before us have endeavoured, to find some formula which will cover the exercise of paramountcy, and we have failed, as others before us have failed, to do so. The reason for such failure is not far to seek. Conditions alter rapidly in a changing world. Imperial necessity and new conditions may at any time raise unexpected situaations. *Paramountcy must remain paramount*; it must fulfil its obligations defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the states."[1]

Now it is pertinent to enquire where does this term "paramount power" stand for. In theory of course it means the Crown acting through the Secretary of State for India. But in actual practice it means the Political Department of the Government of India. Formally of course decisions are taken in the name of the Governor General in Council but as the Governor General himself holds the portfolio of the Political Department his advisers in these matters is the Political Secretary who has no seat in the Governor General's cabinet. Leaving aside the

[1] Butler Report, para. 57.

theoretical position the fact of the case is that Political Department handles the relations between the paramount power and the native princes. The only remedy available to a prince dissatisfied with a decision of the Political Department in a particular matter is an appeal to the Secretary of State. But that is a step of the last resort which is very rarely taken, if from no other consideration at least not to displease the Political Department with which they have to come in daily contact. The mass of case-law based on usage and sufferance to which attention has already been drawn making up 'political practice' regulating the relations between British India and the States, which has been superimposed upon treaties and other agreements is mainly the creation of the Political Department. In as much as there are no strict limits within which the exercise paramountcy must be confined the states are under the virtual tyranny of the Political Departments. Even the authors of the Montague Chelmsford Report acknowledge in a way the unfairness of the position. Thus they observe "we cannot disregard the fact that the general clause which occurs in many of the treaties to the effect that the chief shall remain absolute Ruler of his country has not in the past precluded, and does not even now preclude, 'interference with the administration by Government *through the agency of its representatives at the native courts.*' * * * The princes, viewing the application of (this) case-law to their individual relations with Government, are uneasy as to its ultimate effect. They fear that usage and precedent may be exercising a levelling and corroding influence upon the treaty rights of individual states." [1] It is this sense that things were not all right that prompted them to recommend a thorough re-examination of the existing position with a view to simplification, standardization and codification of the existing practice and also to suggest a number of devices such as the establishment of a council of princes with a Standing Committee and

[1] M. C. Report, paras., 303-304.

also for the institution of Courts of Enquiry and Courts of Arbitration when occasion demanded. Some of the recommendations have been given effect to. But is there any definite improvement in the position; are the princes satisfied with their lot? If it had been open to the princes to make a candid confession, the reply would certainly be in the negative. The cause of their dissatisfaction arises not so much from the curtailment of the extent of their freedom as from the prevailing uncertainty as to the rights they are supposed to enjoy. The princes do not know where they stand. This is the main burden of their grievance. The conception of paramountcy as propounded by successive authorities and last of all by the Butler Committee can be made to shield any inequity perpetrated against them.

Now we are in a position to compute the loss or gain resulting from their entry into the proposed federation. That depends very much of course on the terms on which they enter. Let us put the case at its worst. Supposing that they agree to enter into the federation as envisaged by the authors of the Nehru Report—they recommend that the Dominion Government of India should simply step into the shoes of the present Government of India, but that would not in any way impair the rights and obligations arising from the treaties with the Crown. Because, as they point out, "the plain fact ought not to be overlooked that the Government of India as a Dominion will be as much the King's government, as the present Government of India is, and that there is no constitutional objection to the Dominion Government of India stepping into the shoes of the present Govenment of India.

If there are personal ties of allegiance or devotion which bind the Indian princes to the throne, person or dynasty of the King, they cannot, and ought not, to suffer in strength by a change or modification in the composition of the King's government in India, when India attains Dominion status. There will always be plenty of room for the discharge of those duties to the Crown and for the exercise, on the part of the

Crown, of those prerogatives which may be inseparable from the personal relation that might have subsisted between the Crown and the Indian States.[1] To this end, there would be express provision in the constitution making all the treaties that remain in force at the time of the making of the constitution binding on the Dominion Government of India, which shall be enjoined to exercise the same rights in relation to and discharge the same obligations towards the Indian states as the present Government exercises and discharges. Further to give them assurance of perfectly fair play in cases of dispute arising out of the treaties, engagements, etc., it is provided that the Governor-General in Council with the consent of the state concerned would refer the matter to the Supreme Court which would be so constituted as to inspire confidence in the minds of all.

In regard to matters of a non-justifiable character differences between the Dominion Government and the Native States would be composed by the method of conference and consultation rather than by the fiat of a paramount power. So far as their internal administration is concerned they would have perfect autonomy, subject of course to such a modification of the system of government and administration as is called for by the new order of things, which would of course be settled by discussion and conference and with their consent. They would be called upon to sacrifice some powers and privileges for the sake of stability and strength of the federal government but in lieu of that they would secure a position defined by the constitution and would thus be released from the sense of insecurity and uncertainty arising from 'paramountcy' that hangs like a halter round their necks. At the same time the personal dignity and honours of the princes as also the personal relationship that subsists between them and the Crown would not suffer in any way. So if one compares the position of the princes in the present Indian polity with that in a

[1] Nehru Committee Report, Ch. V, p. 75.

federation as conceived by the Congress school one is forced to the conclusion that the princes become definitely gainers by the change. If they refuse to enter into the federation only two motives can be attributed to such a move. Either they fight shy of dealing with a federal government which would be run mainly by Crown agents instead of white agents and responsible to an Indian electorate instead of an English one, or they want to seize this opportunity for strengthening their position by shrewd bargaining without at the same time making any sacrifice for the interests of the nation at large ; in other words they want to secure their position by a clear definition of their rights and have a determining voice by their votes in the federal legislature in the affairs of India (minus the states) to boot, but would not allow the federal government to exercise any jurisdiction within their territories except within a very limited range. If this be their attitude, we are afraid, they have been playing into the hands of sinister parties who want to turn them into an Indian Ulster blocking the path of progress of India to Dominion Status indefinitely. Happily, however, most of the influential princes have given up this attitude and taken a more reasonable view of things. So far as we can gather from the proceedings of the first Round Table Conference they have definitely accepted the plan of federation on condition however that responsibility is conceded at the centre and provinces are given autonomy. That is perfectly reasonable and intelligible. They cannot be expected to federate with the present Government which is subordinate to Whitehall. Thus other units of federation must be brought up to a level with them in some respects.

The outlines of the picture of federation envisaged in the report of the federal structure sub-committee which was the outcome of the joint deliberations of the representatives of British India as well as of the native states may be jotted down as follows. The component elements of the federation are to be, on the one side, the federating provinces of British India, on the other, such Indian states or groups of states as are willing

to enter the federation. The federation will be a new state, as it were, deriving its powers partly from those powers which are surrendered to it by the native states and partly by way of transfer to it of certain powers of the existing Government of India consisting of both the central and provincial governments. The Legislature is to be bicameral consisting of a lower chamber composed of representatives of British India and the native states by direct election on a population basis and of an upper chamber composed of representatives of the various provincial governments and the native states, the method of selection to be fixed by the units. There will be one Legislature and Executive machinery for the Federation as a whole although the control exercised by the Legislature in relation to different classes of subjects will vary. There will be three distinct classes of subjects, *e.g.*, (*a*) the Crown subjects such as defence, external relations (including relations with native states in the field which falls beyond the federal list), (*b*) central subjects which concern British India only to the exclusion of the native states, and (*c*) federal subjects which are common to India as a whole. In respect to the central subjects the representatives of the native states will participate in the discussion but will not influence the decision. These are only the outlines of the picture; the details are to be filled in, be it noted, by conference and negotiations; nothing is to be gulped down their throats. Their entry even is to be voluntary, prompted by a sense of their own convenience rather than compulsion, although the door would always be open and there will be a standing invitation. Further it would be open to add to the list of the federal subjects by a transfer from the central subjects, of course with the consent of the states, as they realise the benefits of a common control and a common machinery for the regulation of matters affecting British India and the states and it may not be altogether an idle dream to envisage a time when the two lists would become identified and there would be a full-fledged federal government with the states and the autonomous provinces as the component units

linked together by the same tie. In fact that is the goal which every person or body not excluding the authors of the Montford Report or even the Simon Commission, that has given serious thoughts to problem of future constitution of India, has visualised, although the process of advance towards it has been differently conceived by different people.

Assuming that the federal plan as outlined above is adopted and comes into force the princes—we mean, those who are still vacillating—ought to have no hesitation in entering it. In the first place, their treaty rights with the Crown and the consequent honours and dignities, of which they are so very jealous, remain unimpaired. Secondly, in matters in respect of which they come into contact with British India they are freed from the tyranny of the Political Department of India, which they so frequently resent. Thirdly, in cases of dispute they can feel secure that they will have a square deal. Fourthly, while practically enjoying autonomy within their borders they will have a voice in the shaping of the policy of the federal government. Lastly, they will earn the sympathy and good feeling of not only their own subjects but also of the people of British India for putting forward a helping hand in the solution of the Indian problem instead of blocking the way to the realisation of 'Swaraj' or national self-government.

One point more should be emphasised in this connection. The princes cannot keep away, even if they would, from the currents of events in British India. Because after all India is a geographical and economic unit although historically she might have been created into two Indian forces have been at work for more than a century drawing them closer and closer and it would be the height of lack of prudence and foresight to think that the people in the states would remain unaffected by the march of events beyond their borders. We entirely agree with what has been observed by the authors of the Nehru Report which runs as follows :—

"We think it would be very poor statesmanship and short-sighted policy to ignore those obvious historical, religious,

sociological and economic affinities which exists between the people of British India and the people of these states. Nor do we think that it is possible to erect artificial geographical barriers between the two. Ideas and opinions travel from one part of India to another much more rapidly than was the case 60 or 70 years ago, and it would be absurd to deal with the problem of Indian states on the assumption that the dynamic forces now in operation in British India can for a very long period of time be expected to spend themselves on the borders of British India.

In dealing with the problem, therefore, we would, much rather base our conclusions upon the community of interests than upon differences of form. This community of interest would clearly point to joint action by the parties concerned as the most natural course to adopt with a view to mutual protection and advancement."[1]

It may be expected that a pressure would come from their own people sooner and later, and signs of a stirring among their peoples are visible on all sides to fall in line with their brethren in the other parts of India—a pressure which would be all but irresistible. And if they have to change their method of administration is it not better that they should take time by the forelock and take up the offer of federation put forward by their brethren in British India by which they stand definitely to gain and nothing to lose? Time alone can show how the princes approach the problem.

AKSHAYKUMAR GHOSAL

[1] Nehru Report, pp. 71-72.

TO GOD

O God! of all the things nothing is mine
What good gift shall I place before thy shrine ?
What heavy scent the sweet champak buds shed
Or perfumed breeze of childish days, long dead.
What dream of my love have I denied to thee
Of wounded heart and soul in high degree.
Or sweetest songs of those sad years and sighs
Laughter and desires of unfulfilled eyes.
What grief my heart leaps and weeps of this strife
Some unborn golden view of the new life.
O God! tell me no more, why should I sing ?
My heart—have I not given thee my king ?

V. H. PANDIT

SUGGESTION IN WAKING LIFE

The term " suggestion " is mainly associated with the phenomenon of hypnotism. Hypnotic suggestions certainly have irresistible power over the mind of the hypnotised, and many possess great therapeutic value, as eminent psychiatrists would have us believe. But suggestion is operative in full waking life, as much as in hypnosis. This is what makes it an important factor in social life.

" Suggestion," says Prof. Mc Dougall, " is the imparting of a proposition in such a manner that it is accepted with conviction, independently of any logical ground for such conviction. * * * In the case of belief established by suggestion, the energy at work is that of the submissive instinct; and it is evoked by the person (or persons) from whom the suggestion comes in virtue of some quality or supposed quality, that renders him imposing to the person whom he influences * * * ."

Hypnosis is a sleep induced by an operator in whom the subject has confidence and on whom his submissive tendency remains fixated during the spell. The active conative energy of the submissive instinct serves as an open channel for the communication of ideas from the operator to the subject. What operates during the spell is " a single focus of nervous activity in a sleeping brain, from which other parts of the brain, though relatively dissociated, may be brought into play, at the will of the operator." (McDougall.) It is as if a portion of the total, sleeping, normal personality were sliced out, split off and kept exclusively under control by the hypnotiser. The split off personality, at the beck and call of the operator, controls the whole brain for the time being. The normal personality remains relatively

asleep, all the while, unless roused by a challenge to some strong and fixed moral sentiment in the hypnotised subject.

Now to suggestion in waking life. Men in society commonly live in relations of dominance and submission. People of the dominating instinct are respected, admired and obeyed by people possessing the submissive instinct. Suggestions proceed from the former and stimulate the instinctive dispositions of the latter, who usually carry these out, without question or criticism. A spirit of criticism which rouses tendencies opposing those awakened by the suggestion renders it inoperative.

It may be asserted without fear of criticism that all men are open to suggestion. Freud associates this universal suggestibility with the presence of ' libïdo ' or the sexual instinct in all men. He maintains that a man's responsiveness to suggestion is due to the fixation of libïdo on a person who is supposed to possess superior powers and prestige. Without entering into a detailed criticism of Freud's theory, we may say that libïdo is not the prime factor in human relations. But the outstanding merit of Freud is that he seeks the explanation of the potency of suggestion deep in the instinctive bases of mind, in the conative tendencies that sustain and energise all our strivings and activities. Instincts inherited from the unknown ancestors and strengthened by a steady process of biological selection form the deep sea of man's mental being of which the waking consciousness is but the rippling surface.

Suggestion usually proceeds from a person possessing or supposed to possess superior power and is accepted by one having the submissive instinct. But the reverse is not always untrue. Othello, the man of dominating instinct, may fall a prey to the suggestion of the weak but crafty Iago and enact the most heart-rending tragedy in the realm of conjugal love. The essential energy which carries the suggestion into effect comes from within the subject and is not imparted by the operator who only releases it or sets it in motion. It is common knowledge how suggestions whispered from behind the curtain

storm the conative energy of the most dominant among us and produce the most marvellous results! In cases like these it is the permanent emotional attitude towards an individual that conduces to suggestibility. What suggestion does is to switch the battery of sensory-motor energy on to one of the mines of instincts formidably arrayed in the unconscious depths of mind, and to effect an explosion of far-reaching consequence.

In childhood, when the nerves are plastic and conceptual images and ideas are not yet distinctly formed, suggestions from a teacher or a parent who stands in a position of superiority sink down to the unconscious plane of the mind and act with irresistible power. The future of the child is made or marred according as the suggestions are healthy or otherwise. Good parents or teachers are those who throw out healthy suggestions to evoke the noblest instincts and thereby lead children unconsciously towards the attainment of the noblest ideal in life. Adults in a dependent country are like grown-up babies whose submissive tendency degenerates into " slave mentality " in consequence of suggestions of ' inferiority,' ' unfitness,' etc., proceeding from a group of people uncritically assumed to possess superior powers. Such unhealthy, baneful suggestions breed a morbid self-distrust which can be counteracted only by re-assuring suggestions of the opposite nature. " Fire them up with praise," says Mazzini, speaking of the poor-spirited young men of enslaved Italy, " and hurl them against the Austrians."

Ideo-motor suggestions are communicated verbally. What is called ' auto-suggestion ' is the repetition of a suggested formula by the subject in the absence of the operator. We find reference to an apt instance of auto-suggestion in a speech of Vivekananda. An English youth, says the Swami, comes into perfect self-confidence as a heritage. This unfailing self-confidence makes him invincible in any enterprise in any part of the world. The Swami attributes this to the awakening of the ' Brahman ' within him as a result of his self-confidence. We may say that the innate, fathomless store of unconscious energy

to which every man is a legatee is stirred into activity in him by auto-suggestion. Many eminent modern psychologists believe in the efficacy of auto-suggestion in physical and mental disorders. The truth is daily coming home to the western mind that the influence of the unconscious can be brought to bear on the conscious being. To the Indian mind it is an old truth in the garb of modern scientific language.

KSHITISCHANDRA BAGCHI

Reviews

Text, Type and Style: *A Compendium of Atlantic Usage*. By George B. Ives. The Atlantic Monthly Press, Boston.

This is a very useful book for all who have to see manuscripts through the press. When the Atlantic Monthly Press was started, the management had to think out its own standard in spelling, spacing, proof-reading, etc., and then it wanted to publish the results and proclaim them to the world for its edification. Though this sounds stilted, there was perfect sincerity in the mind of the writer and as a result of that we have here a practical and handy guide on the topics treated in the book. The chapter on *special words and phrases* is specially interesting; the examples cited in the volume are from the best writers in the English language; and the general impression is that the writer has something pertinent to say on everything, however minute,—in connection with the preparing of copies; his experience leads him to expose corners which we might have missed through inadvertence. We can safely recommend the book even for adoption for class-teaching, and many graduates and under-graduates will be benefited by a perusal.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Śatanarī—Karuṇānidhān Bandyopādhyāy, Calcutta, Bagchi and Sons, 203/2, Cornwallis Street.

It is a charming string of Bengali verses, full of rhythm and melody. The pieces are set in four groups according to the spirit they breathe. We have themes of fancy and of reality which have fascinated the poet and brought his powers to play, not in the insensate manner of the present-day poetasters whose number is legion, but through an attitude of mind that lives detached from morbidity and is serene in its perceptions. Whether in the pleasant abstraction of a dream, or in the thrill of old memories and associations, whether ruminating on sportive Nature or in the adoration of humanity, whether he lives in the past or mingles with the present or peeps into the future, the poet comes out with a spontaneity that directly appeals to the heart.

Men love not to commune with sad experiences, because they are bitter, but the genial touch of Mr. Banerjee soothes the oppressed mind and makes the vision lovely. Surfeit of intellectualism offends the Muse, as most poets have known to their cost. It does not warm; it singes, it maddens. It is, however, fortunate that in Mr. Banerjee's poems emotion and intellect have their due degrees of appeal and do not ride roughshod over each other. There is no superlative fantasy, no tendency to lapse perforce into mysticism, none of those aggressive feats of phraseology that characterise most attempts of modern Bengal. The poet's style is full of directness and moves the heart to sympathy with his vision, and we can speak of his performance in his own words:—

সরল গানের কথাগুলি লঘু
বাণের মতন বিঁধে,
চোখের জলের বাঁধ ভেঙ্গে দেয়
ভাবগুলি সাদা সিদে।

SAILENDRANATH MITRA

Ourselves

Result of the B.Com. Examination, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the B.Com. Examination, 1932, was 145 of whom 9 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 136.

The number of candidates who passed the examination was 69 of whom 4 passed in the First Division.

The percentage of passes is 50·75.

* * *

Result of the B.A. Examination, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the B.A. Examination, 1932, was 2,818 of whom 121 were absent and 8 were transferred to other Centres. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 2,689 of whom 7 were expelled, 1,642[1] were successful and 1,040 failed. Of the successful candidates 1,346 were placed on the Pass List and 286 on the Honours List. Of the candidates on the Honours List 23 were placed in the First Class and 263 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List 142 passed with Distinction.

The number of candidates who have passed in two subjects only is 10.

The percentage of passes is 61·2.

* * *

1 The cases of candidates recommended by the Board have not been included in the report.

Result of the B.Sc. Examination, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the B.Sc. Examination, 1932, was 726 of whom 32 were absent and 2 were transferred to other Centres. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 692 of whom 3 were expelled, 439[1] were successful and 250 failed. Of the successful candidates 377 were placed on the Pass List and 62 on the Honours List. Of the candidates in the Honours List 7 were placed in the First Class and 52 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List 151 passed with Distinction.

The percentage of passes is 63·7.

* * *

[1] The cases of candidates recommended by the Board have not been included in the report.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1932

DR. TAGORE, MEMBERS OF THE CONVOCATION, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,[1]

I have been asked to convey to the Poet His Excellency the Chancellor's felicitations and on behalf of the University I have very great pleasure in welcoming our septuagenarian Poet-Philosopher amongst us this afternoon.

Had I the power of getting every wish of mine fulfilled I could not have desired a fitter ceremony than this with which to close my term of office as the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. To-day we have gathered together to receive and accord welcome to a distinguished son of Bengal who is acknowledged by the world as one of the greatest men of letters of our day. The peculiar interest in this academic reception to the Laureate of Asia by the University of Calcutta, which is to-day an institution for the fostering and development of Culture and the Advancement of Learning in a truer sense than a decade or so ago, is heightened by the fact that the Poet has returned to us safe from a venturesome journey to Persia in the 71st year of his life.

[1] Address delivered by Sir Hassan Suhrwardy, Kt., O.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.S.I., D.P.H., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, at the academic reception given to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore at the Senate House on 6th August 1932.

Of the few persons who have made the culture of modern India understood and appreciated by the world at large, Rabindranath is perhaps the most brilliant and outstanding exponent. He has helped considerably to dispel the darkness of ignorance about our country and our culture, and we cannot adequately express our admiration and feelings of indebtedness to him. India in the imagination of the West was a country disunited with by castes and creeds, the home of strange religious rituals and practices. Her culture was considered as a thing of the past. Therefore the translation of Rabindranath's *Gitanjali* evoked admiration mingled with surprise in his readers outside Iddia.

The ideas about India and her civilization began to change when the West awoke to the consciousness that India was still an intellectual and spiritual force in the world, radiant with beauty and pulsating with life.

On the occasion of the seventieth birthday of the Poet, some of the greatest minds of Europe and Asia united to pay their tribute of honour and reverence to him, and thus Rabindranath has been instrumental in making the East and West meet on a platform of equality.

I am proud to feel that while politicians are struggling for Dominion Status or independence for India, the genius of Rabindranath has won recognition from the nations of the world and set the seal of India's intellectual fitness for freedom.

We are grateful to him, not only because he has achieved through his poetry such a splendid victory for India, but also because of the greater cause of humanity which he has served. He has realised in his soul the unity of man and the harmony of nature. The ideal which he has set up is freedom of the mind and spirit, and universal peace and goodwill by true understanding between the peoples of the East and those of the world at large.

He has founded a University at Bolpur in Bengal which is a striking piece of original work. He has dissociated himself

from the beaten track of academic education. He has not founded a denominational institution for the benefit of any one class or section of people, but has set up a seat of learning available to all at *Santi-niketan*—'the Abode of Peace' placed amidst nature's own surroundings. Its atmosphere of freedom and simplicity is a stimulating factor in the discipline of the mind and body. The Poet has realised, in a way that few people have, that a liberal education alone can bridge the gulf of narrow denominational bias and prejudice.

Rabindranath's poetry is marked by a singular freedom from conventionality. His songs speak with a touching sincerity and with the naturalness of his relationship with the Unseen. His passionate love of nature and his mystic sensitiveness are supreme and reminiscent of the poetry of the mystic Bards of Persia.

We could not have a more distinguished representative of India for the high mission he has fulfilled, again in our times renovating the age-old intellectual relationship between the two most brilliant countries of Western Asia. Our ties with Persia are of long date and have been continuous from the most ancient times, through the middle ages, till our day. The mutual action and reaction of the two countries in the realms of thought, art and literature are now being brought to light by contemporary scholarship. Persia has also been during centuries the spiritual home, the source, the fountain head and inspiration of what is best and finest in the culture and thought of the Muslim world. Al-Farabi and Avicenna in the domain of Science and Philosophy, the founders of the four chief schools of mysticism that have captured the imagination of Islam—Hazrat Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilany, Hazrat Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardy, Hazrat Shaikh Mu'inuddin Chisty and Hazrat Shaikh Bahauddin Naqshbandy—have all their origin in the great land of Iran. India has been the true interpreter of Persia throughout the ages. For it was by the blending of the thought and culture of Persia with that of Hindusthan that the exquisite

flowers of Persisn art and literature bloomed and enriched with their fragrance the Courts of the Pathan and the Mogul Rulers of Delhi and gave to the world an Amir Khusrau, an Abul Fazl and a Faizi. There was a time when every educated Hindu in our part of the Asiatic Continent was steeped in Persian culture like the great Raja Rammohan Ray and it is remarkable that the part played by the non-Moslem communities in India, specially the Hindus, in the enrichment of Persian literature in this country has not been sufficiently appraised. In our distinguished guest we see the scion of a house that has had a long contact with Persian culture and in his genius I find the perfect synthesis of the ideals of the two most important communities of India. Not only the Mussalmans of Bengal who speak Bengali as their mother tongue, but also the Mussalmans of India who speak other languages, see in the Poet an embodiment of the refinements of Islamic Culture even as the Hindus claim him as an incarnation of their own. The synthesis to which I have referred makes him India's fittest ambassador in presenting once again the unity of Asiatic civilisation inspired with common or at least analogous ideals.

During the term of my Vice-Chancellorship I have been extraordinarily lucky. I have got through many important projects, but none which to my mind has such far-reaching consequences as the proposal for the introduction of the vernacular as the medium of instruction during the first stages of education. Fate has reserved for me the supreme joy to see that the foundations have been laid during my term of office for the realisation of the dream of my distinguished predecessors. What can be better than that the inauguration of this epoch-making change should be presided over by Bengal's greatest son in the Realm of Letters. His is the first name in the Roll of Doctors of Literature of our University and now he has honoured me by accepting the offer of the University to be its Professor of Bengali Language and Literature. Though the

post of a Professor of the Calcutta University is a much-coveted office of distinction and eminence, in the case of Rabindranath Tagore the lines of the Persian poet are truly applicable :

نه ز منصب شود بزرگي مرد * بلکه منصب شود ز مرد بلند

"It is not the office which has exalted his position. It is the office which has been exalted by his acceptance."

I thank him for the promise that, amidst his multifarious activities, the Poet would be able to find time for the instruction of our young men, to inspire them, to unravel before their eyes their heritage of a literature of which he has been the most brilliant exponent and creator.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is said that two Kings of India sought to persuade Hafiz to visit their courts. In response to the invitation of the Bahmani King of the Deccan, the Persian Poet came up to the sea-board, but the sight of the roaring waves sent him back to his native town of Shiraz. To Sultan Ghiyasuddin who, during the golden age of Muslim Rule in Bengal, had invited the immortal bard of Persia to his Court, Hafiz sent an exquisite lyric (*ghazal*) in which occur the following couplets—

شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند * زین قند فارسي که به بنگاله میرود

"All the Parrots of Hindusthan will become sugar-breakers, sugar-peckers, because of this Persian sugar-candy which goeth to Bangala."

When Riza Shah Pahlawi repaid the debt long overdue and returned the compliment by an invitation to the great Poet-Philosopher of Bengal, Tagore did better than Hafiz. The waves of the Persian Gulf are as terrifying and the Indian Ocean is as boisterous as ever. Our Poet had wished to visit the Persian King last year, but as in the case of his precursor Hafiz, the roaring seas stood in the way. He, however, solved the difficulty by soaring on the wings of his poetic genius and flying over the dark waters below, in the Chariot of the Aeroplane

like a Seer of Ancient India. He paid back in person Hafiz's debt. Now it is the parrots of Persia who will peck at the exquisite poetry of Bengal and in the Rose Gardens of Shiraz, the famous Bulbul will be eating its heart away in strains which are familiar to our ears :

شوریده دل شوند همه بلبلان فارس * زین عطر ناب گل که ز بنگاله میرود

"All the Bulbuls of Persia will be loud-hearted intoxicated with this pure Essence of Rose which goeth from Bangala.

SIR HASSAN, MEMBERS OF THE CONVOCATION, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,[1]

It not only gladdens my heart but makes me feel at home when Sir Hassan gives special emphasis in his address to the generous reception that was offered to me in Persia. What is significant about it is the fact that the welcome came from the people of that great country and we all know that honour from the people really means love. Honour is cautiously critical while love is intuitive, and the ordinary man in all those parts of the world which are not too sophisticated have an instinctive feeling of attachment to a poet, a child-like faith in his mission. It was enough that I came to these people in Iran as one of those who could be smilingly excused for being nothing better than a singer and the simple hearts of my hosts were touched with an unthinking admiration which had the savour of the feeling of a common brotherhood.

I have no doubt that they realised that I was among them and not above them, and I almost feel glad that they hardly knew my work, that I was not to them the subject of thesis for doctorate of either idolatrous or iconoclastic character. In my delightfully natural contact with them I never for once was nervously made aware of any particular merit of mine of a special kind and limitation and was never compelled to act a part that was expected of me. I thank you, Sir Hassan, for evoking in my mind on this occasion that atmosphere of spontaneous acceptance heartily human which fell to my lot in the land of your own forefathers whose hospitality you carry further on in this hall in the kind words that you speak of me echoing the very music that rang into my ears in the garden of Hafiz. It may amuse you to know that I was once asked by a man of high position in Persia if in my pedigree

[1] Reply given by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

there was anywhere any touch of Iran and I confessed that it was in my heart. And this fact must have been made fully evident to my Persian friends which enabled me to join my hands to theirs in fellowship without any obvious credentials of intellectual or social value on my part. I wish I could claim the same easy communion of hearts in this hall also and be relieved of a responsibility of any solemn position to be held in a frigid altitude.

It is no secret that I am not accustomed to be welcomed into the circle of the erudite. And therefore when any fortunate surprise of this nature comes in my way I feel proud in an exaggerated measure while at the same time I timidly shrink from it. I am afraid of being held responsible some day for any overpayment in my favour, for I know that people never forgive those whom, by their own mistake, or possibly at their lucid moments, they have offered more than what they at a later date imagine to be their due. It is undoubtedly a great good fortune to be able to win recognition from one's fellow-beings specially at such a high source of honour as a University rightfully can claim to be. But it always means a great strain for a person of my abilities and character to justify and to maintain it for any length of time, to feel perfectly natural in such an atmosphere of scholarship. I was born, as a poet, with an inclination which prevented me from the pursuit of purposeful endeavour, while allowing me to enjoy the indulgence of my providence in leading a life of mental vagabondage. The gathering of knowledge and adding to its store, the labelling of facts in accurate terminology was not given to me, and never having achieved even the lowest average of academic respectability I had missed my right to claim the comradeship of the learned. We all know that there are persons in our country who are piously loud in their extolment of poverty as the sign of spiritual aristocracy, the exalted order of the ragged. I hope that God takes pity upon them, for in most of their cases poverty has not been a choice but a

necessity. In a similar situation I also crave your forgiveness if in my natural desire to defend myself against opprobrium of my fellow beings I try to pretend to be proud of my academic pauperism. Any psycho-analyst will tell you that this is merely a perverse form of humility and that deep in my mind I stand almost in an absurd awe before those whose names, unlike mine, rightfully carry the dignity of University distinction. But at the same time I am sincere in my thankfulness to my star which gifted me with a resourcefulness when I was young and helped me to avoid schoolmasters. I am sure that my truancy guided me to a compensation conferring upon my mind the freedom of dwelling in Youth's eternity where 70th birthday looks foolish in its venerable anachronism. For I strayed away from the highroad of scholastic discipline into a green expanse of inconsequential leisure where my experience found their source in perennial forms of beauty and human relationship, where my thoughts floated on the endless stream of continuous beginnings, the beginning in the bud, the beginning in the flower, in the seed, in the sprouting life.

The wonder of to-day and the expectation of to-morrow flowed in surprises of happiness, revealing to my mind the mysticism of simple truth, the miracles which are in the delights of every-day life.

The true happiness is an instinct, it has an unreasoning faith in the present and trust in the future which is the realm of endless growth. It is akin to the feeling of a child for its mother, undoubtedly positive and yet indefinite, and this is how I felt this world neglecting the technique and tradition of learning, seeking an intensity of direct realisation. Mine is a nomadic mind, it is never at home in the land of settled knowledge, comfortably classified, it is more conscious of its growth than its gains. This may be one of the reasons why, as I have been told and observed, I cause persistent irritation in a certain type of academic minds in my own country, not in those which create, which meditate, which have a youthful

eagerness in their adventure of exploration, but in those which repeatedly deal with orthodox facts within a walled-up intellectual enclosure.

But this fluid inconclusiveness of my mind which has its impulse to move into the depth of all things, brings me into a close contact of kinship with students who are nearer to life and who before their spirit is crushed under education grindstone have their natural craving for the inspiration of light and not for the underlined parsimony of torn out passages. They have loved me, the young, the adventurous, they have accepted me as the fellow traveller in the path of their aspiration. If in spite of my misfit any connection have been established between me and our University, I feel that I stand here on the side of the students, to tell them who are young that the strenuous course of their study, the pride of their acquisition must never harden all that is delicate and living in their nature, their power of faith, of simple joy, the sesitiveness to the subtle touches of existence. It is fortunate to be able to acquire knowledge but it is a rare privilege to be able to accept life in its varied significance with unabated sympathy and interest, untouched by cynicism and coarse pride of cleverness. Let them keep fresh the natural purity inherent in their vigour which is like the life sap of young deodars of Himalayas that spontaneously cleanses away all intrusions of decay by its own triumphant urge of growth.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

SPECIAL CONVOCATION ADDRESS[1]

MEMBERS OF THE CONVOCATION,

This is a special Convocation convened for the purpose of conferring Degrees on students who are going abroad for further studies. This function was inaugurated by one of my predecessors to enable students to join British and European Universities by about the beginning of October when the sessions begin.

"In the quest of knowledge leave your homes and go beyond the great walls of China," was the command of the Great Teacher of Arabia and there can be no doubt that the field of your vision would be widened and the store of your knowledge enriched by your travels and studies abroad. You are going to continue your education in diverse directions :—Law, Medicine, Engineering, Commerce, Industries, etc. The Western countries are certainly far in advance of us in these matters and there is much to learn from them of special technical value. It will be up to you to assimilate all that the West has to teach, and then on coming back, to impart your knowledge to your own students, so that your successors may not have the necessity of going abroad.

I know foreign degrees have now a peculiar attraction and value but I am looking forward to the day when our swadeshi products will carry the same, if not a higher value, in the academic world, and instead of our students having to direct their steps westwards in quest of degrees, streams of students would be coming into India not only to become expert Orientalists, Arabists, Sanskritists or only because of Indology, but also for special instructions in the domains of Science and Technology.

[1] Address delivered by Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Kt., O.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.S.I., D.P.H., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, at the Special Convocation held at the Senate House, on 6th August 1932.

I would like to advise you not only to make the best use of the opportunities for higher studies offered in foreign Universities but to try and learn by extra-academic contacts those special lines of work and thought in which Western people are so well organised and advanced. I would also advise you strongly to take part in the corporate life of the Universities. One of the main objects of your education is to achieve success in life and you will never attain that success, unless you learn the great lessons of self-help in organising things for yourselves, and above all of the care and improvement of your health. Take advantage of every holiday for breaking the monotony of dry academic work and for going out on excursions to other countries. In your contacts with men and things, I would advise you not to be over-sensitive. Let not inferiority complex overpower you. Develop a manlier outlook and be happy. Do not look for insults when none is meant. Do not be unnecessarily aggressive and do not mistake rudeness for independence.

I envy you your good fortune. You are extraordinarily lucky that you have been admitted this evening to your degrees in the presence of one of India's greatest sons, who more than any other has advanced the name and fame of your country in the world, dispelling the mists of ignorance and prejudice.

Do not forget that as foreign students you have got a sacred duty towards your Motherland and towards those who are now responsible and have been responsible for your education. Let not this high ideal ever leave your minds. Your conduct, your words, your points of view should be such as will bring credit to you and to your people and your country.

May your journey be auspicious. May you return safe and sound, full of credit and full of glory.

SLEEP AND CONSCIOUSNESS

The experience of sleep is common to all normal human beings, and we seem to understand quite well what is meant by it. If I am asked in the course of the day whether I slept last night, I can confidently return an answer either in the affirmative or in the negative, without at all being puzzled by the question. This shows that we have a clear understanding of sleep and have no doubt about our experience of it.

But it is also believed that when we fall deep asleep, we become quite unconscious so that the continuity of our consciousness may be said to be broken every day by sleep. The problem therefore arises as to how we have any knowledge of sleep if we become totally unconscious in it. Nobody seems to doubt that we are quite unconscious while we are fast asleep. But if we are unconscious when we are asleep, how do we know afterwards that we slept at all?

This problem is very important for certain schools of Indian philosophy which believe that the self and consciousness are never separated from each other. Since the self does not lose its being in sleep it should not, according to them, be divorced from its consciousness even in sleep. How can this theory be reconciled with the common belief that the self loses its consciousness in sleep?

It will be seen that we are taking sleep in the sense of dreamless sleep in which there is apparently no consciousness of any object. It is evidently impossible to discuss about sleep while we are sleeping ; but after having had the experience of sound sleep, we can discuss about its content and character. It seems also clear that so long as we are perceiving, thinking of, or, in any other way, knowing, any object, we are not really

sleeping. If we had the consciousness of objects even in sleep, our experience of sleep would not, in any essential character, be different from our experience of the waking life. Even those who maintain that there is consciousness in sleep do not hold that the consciousness of sleep is of the same determinate objective kind as the consciousness of the waking life. They too deny determinate knowledge of objects in sleep. But for them to deny determinate objective consciousness is not to deny consciousness as such. They say that there is a consciousness which is not objective or determinate and such a consciousness is not denied when it is said that there is no consciousness of objects in sleep.

In any case when we speak of our past experience of sleep and say 'I slept soundly and did not know anything,' our assertion is generally taken as a true statement of facts. But what exactly is the nature of the knowledge conveyed by the proposition 'I did not know anything'? That it does convey some knowledge of the person who makes the statement is quite evident; otherwise the statement would be meaningless. When I assert that I did not know anything, I mean to communicate my knowledge of the fact that I did not know anything. The above statement not only asserts the absence of knowledge in the past (*i.e.*, in sleep), but also implies the present knowledge of the past absence of knowledge on the part of the man who makes the statement. Unless I *know* that I did not know, I can have no justification for saying that I did not know anything. This knowledge is about the absence of knowledge in sleep. If there is consciousness in sleep, it must be deducible from, or at least be consistent with, this knowledge. In fact those who believe in the presence of consciousness in sleep try to deduce it from our present knowledge of the absence of knowledge in sleep, although it appears rather paradoxical.

Now, what is the character of this knowledge? The first question to be decided about it is whether it is valid knowledge. If it is no valid knowledge, no reliable conclusion can be derived

from it. We have however to take it as valid, because, it is not contradicted or corrected by any subsequent knowledge. Our knowledge of a stick, half immersed in water, as bent is false, because it is corrected by the subsequent knowledge that it is straight. But my present knowledge that I did not know anything in sleep is never corrected by any knowledge that I did know something in sleep. When this knowledge is not contradicted by any experience and is not known to be invalid, the conclusion correctly drawn from it cannot legitimately be challenged.

The next question is about the nature of this knowledge. Is it perception, memory or inference? That it is not perception can readily be seen. Perception always refers to a present fact; but this knowledge is about a past fact (*i.e.*, absence of knowledge in sleep). Moreover, when this knowledge is present, the absence of knowledge in the self is not possible and cannot be perceived.

Those who suppose that there is consciousness in sleep accept the view that the present knowledge of the past absence of knowledge is a case of memory. Once you grant that your present knowledge is a case of memory, you cannot but also grant that there was a corresponding past knowledge (of the nature of perception) of which the present knowledge is a reproduction. If, when I know that I did not know anything, I only remember that I did not know anything, it must be granted that I had, in the past, some direct knowledge of the form 'I do not know anything.' We can remember only what we have experienced. There is no memory of that which has not been experienced. So if our knowledge of the past absence of knowledge is a case of memory, there must be then in the past (*i.e.* in sleep) a knowledge of the absence of knowledge. Unless we grant this knowledge, there can be no subsequent memory of the form 'I did not know anything.' But we have already seen the difficulty of accepting any direct knowledge of the absence of knowledge. If there is knowledge, how can there be absence of knowledge also? There would be no difficulty if

knowledge belonged to one person and the absence of it to another. Here one and the same person is supposed to have the knowledge of the absence of knowledge in himself. To get out of this difficulty one has to suppose that 'the absence of knowledge' is not to be taken quite literally, and that it does not mean mere lack of knowledge but a state of 'positive ignorance.' What we have in sleep, according to this theory, is a positive experience of ignorance which is interpreted afterwards negatively in terms of ignorance of all particular objects. A state of positive ignorance is indeterminately known at the time of sleep and is remembered afterwards when we say 'I did not know anything.' The idea of positive ignorance is a difficult one, and the Vedantists, who are the main supporters of the theory of positive ignorance, have to make use of many technical devices in order to reconcile their theory with the common belief that nothing is known in sleep.

But their conclusion is based on the supposition that our knowledge of the absence of knowledge is a case of memory, and this supposition cannot be taken as true unless the alternative hypothesis that our knowledge of the absence of knowledge is only an inference is conclusively proved to be false.

This hypothesis too is not without its own difficulties. It is said that if we knew anything in sleep, we should remember it afterwards, and since we do not remember anything, we infer that there was no knowledge of anything in sleep. In other words lack of memory is made a ground for our inferring lack of knowledge. But memory is not so invariably related with knowledge that from the absence of memory we should infer the absence of knowledge. Many experiences in life are absolutely forgotten. From the fact that I cannot remember a particular experience it cannot follow that I never had that experience. It is true that unless we have previously known a thing we cannot remember it. But it will not be right to say conversely that I did not know a thing simply because I cannot remember it now.

There is another very peculiar difficulty in inferring the absence of knowledge from any ground whatever. We can infer one fact from another only when we have seen the two facts together and have observed an invariable relation between them. But the absence of knowledge can never be seen, and so it cannot be ascertained to be universally related with any other fact. Since we cannot establish a universal relation between the absence of knowledge and any other fact by means of direct knowledge, it seems impossible for us to draw an inference about the absence of knowledge from any fact.

It may be said that we can infer the absence of knowledge from the absence of the conditions of knowledge. When the conditions of knowledge are not fulfilled, knowledge, which results from such conditions, cannot be there. But there is a difficulty. How do we know that the conditions of knowledge are not present in sleep? We cannot ascertain it by direct observation, simply because if we were to do so, there would be no sleep at all. We can only infer the absence of the conditions of knowledge from the assumed fact that there is no knowledge in sleep. If this is so, then it is a mere *petitio principii* to say that the absence of knowledge in sleep is inferred from the absence of the conditions of knowledge.

It cannot be denied that there is much force in these criticisms of the hypothesis that 'I did not know anything in sleep' is an inference. But we cannot say that they are quite conclusive. It may not be right to infer the absence of knowledge from the absence of memory; but the inferential character of our knowledge will not be affected by the fact that the inference is not correctly drawn. A villager, who has seen only learned people putting on glasses, may infer that a particular individual is learned because he wears glasses. The inference is certainly wrong, because there is no connexion between learning and the wearing of glasses. But this does not mean that the knowledge of the villager is not inferential or that his knowledge is not true. An inference may not be

well grounded but the resulting knowledge may still be right. In the above instance the particular individual in question may really be learned, so that the knowledge that he is learned will not be false although it may not be arrived at by a valid process.

Moreover, although from want of memory we cannot generally infer want of knowledge, it seems that in certain cases absence of memory may be more or less a sure ground for supposing that there was corresponding absence of relevant knowledge. If I meet a stranger and cannot remember to have seen him during the past few hours, I feel certain that I really did not see him during those hours. If we are to suppose that we knew a fact even when we cannot remember it, there must be some positive ground to assure us that we really did know it. When we do not remember to have had a particular experience within a restricted period of time, not long past, and when there is no positive ground to tell us even generally that we were likely to have the experience, we may conclude that we really had not that experience. The period of sleep may not be long past, but although we try hard we cannot recall any experience out of that period, and we have no positive ground for supposing that we have any consciousness in sleep. In these circumstances, I think, lack of memory together with the absence of any evidence to the contrary may constitute a valid ground for inferring absence of knowledge in sleep.

Absence of knowledge may be inferred from the fact that the conditions of knowledge are not present in sleep. We may ascertain the conditions of knowledge by experiments with other persons and we may further ascertain that these conditions are not fulfilled when people fall asleep. Applying the results of these observations to our own case, we can suppose that when we fall asleep the conditions of knowledge are not fulfilled and there is consequently no knowledge. Of course we cannot directly find out the absence of the conditions of knowledge in our own case, just as we cannot see our own brain-processes. I cannot myself see my brain within the skull nor can I see my own death. Still

I can draw inferences about the presence of the brain within my skull as well as about my own death.

We may at least take our knowledge of the absence of knowledge in sleep as a hypothesis. When we cannot remember anything out of our sleep-life, we are perfectly justified in framing a hypothesis that there is no consciousness in sleep, although we may not draw a valid inference to that effect. But when this hypothesis is never contradicted by any experience in life, it gets with us the status of sure knowledge.

Thus we see that it is not conclusively proved that our knowledge of the absence of knowledge in sleep is not an inference. It can at least stand as an uncontradicted hypothesis. When this is so, it is not safe to conclude that our knowledge of the absence of knowledge in sleep is a case of memory and to draw further deductions from this conclusion. When it is not proved that I am only remembering a past experience when I say 'I dip not know anything in sleep,' it cannot be supposed that there must be some direct knowledge present in sleep in order to explain this experience.

Besides there are some positive difficulties in treating the knowledge conveyed by the statement 'I did not know anything in sleep' as a case of memory. In every case of memory we not only remember the fact known in the past but can also recall the past experience in which the fact was known. If it were true that when I say I did not know anything I only remember that I did not know anything, I should be able to recall the experience in which I had the consciousness of not knowing anything. But no such experience can be recalled. In sleep we never have the positive knowledge that we are not knowing anything.

It is rightly recognised that there is an absurdity in the conception of 'the knowing of not knowing anything,' and so it is supposed that we have in sleep a consciousness of ignorance which is conceived as a positive entity, and that this consciousness of ignorance is afterwards remembered as no knowledge of all particular objects. But if the original experience is positive

in character, having a positive object, why should it give rise to a negative memory ?

We thus see that the Vedantic argument that the presence of consciousness in sleep is proved by the fact of subsequent memory is not very convincing, because we are not bound to regard the subsequent knowledge as a case of memory.

But although the Vedantist's argument may not prove his case, there is an important point in his contention. We commonly believe in sleep as a fact of daily experience. We seem to understand what is meant by sleep. But we can know sleep only in our experience of it. It cannot be known in its true character by external observation. If sleep has any real meaning for us, it appears it should be drawn from our own direct experience of it. This presupposes that we should have some consciousness of sleep, however dim and indefinite, when we are actually sleeping. This is what is probably meant by the Vedanta when it speaks of an indeterminate knowledge of positive ignorance in sleep. The term 'positive ignorance' in this connexion may only mean the undiscriminated 'dark' state of sleep in which there is no determinate knowledge of any particular objects. This explanation of the matter makes it possible for us to derive our understanding of sleep from direct personal experience. But if this is true, then it should not be supposed, as is commonly done, that there occurs a break or gap in our consciousness in sleep.

If, however, we believe that there is a state of sound sleep in which there is no consciousness at all, then we should admit that we have no direct knowledge of a such a state. All our knowledge of such a state is confined to its after-effects only. We cannot know this state when we are in it, because we are then quite unconscious. We cannot know it afterwards, because it is not present then. Indeed it is impossible for us to know how it 'feels' to be unconscious.

RASHBIHARY DAS.

THE FUNCTION OF THE COLLEGE IN THE LIFE OF THE CITY

Education, in a broad sense, is the training of individuals so that they can think and act for themselves intelligently. The exercise of this function has made education a significant factor in the life of every age; but the peculiar complexion of our own times has enhanced this significance and broadened its meaning. For the task of education has never before been so important and so difficult of accomplishment. An economically disordered society is crying for courageous and creative leadership; a cynical generation, for a newer outlook and a better faith. Never before have the opportunities for furthering the public welfare been so numerous, or the need for them more pressing. The City College,[1] because of its origin and ideals, must embrace these opportunities, must make itself a militant and constructive force in the life of the City.

The individual, as a member of the body politic, lives constantly in complex relations with his fellows. Upon the nature of his adjustment to these relationships depends the color of his citizenship. It is the primary function of the City College to prepare the way for a sound and efficient adjustment. The principles embodied in the report of the first Executive Committee for the government of the Academy, indicate how solidly the College is founded on this progressive idea. The report reads in part, "...the education imparted should be so organized that the course of studies to be pursued would tend to educate the pupils practically and particularly qualify them to apply their learning to advance and perfect the operations of the various trades and occupations in which they may engage..." Clearly,

[1] The College of the City of New York, U. S. A., having an enrolment of 40,000 pupils and enjoying an annual grant of 90 lakhs of rupees out of the funds of the city. Over eighty per cent. of the students are Hebrews and tuition is almots free.

we have here provision both for a professional and liberal training. Since its foundation in 1847, the College has remained true to this twofold ideal; nor has it ever altered its policy of placing culture and professionalism in a co-operative rather than a competitive relationship. To this policy the College owes its avoidance of the devastating influence of an indiscriminate elective system on the one hand, and of narrow specialization on the other. It has been able to produce men who can take their places in society both as productive members of the community and as intelligent and thinking citizens. This the College has done adequately and well. But we are now living in an extraordinary age, an age which has witnessed the rise of an economy and culture peculiar only to itself. As a civic institution, the City College should reflect in its curriculum, its methods, and its ideals the effect of the new needs which these changes in our culture and economy have provoked. The age demands that we make our twofold ideal, an idea of far greater significance than ever before.

To begin with, then, the College should fit its students for social and political service, and not merely provide them with sterile culture. It must direct their minds toward the comprehension and control of a civilization born of science and the machine. It must develop leaders who will grapple with such evils as recurrent unemployment, fatigue and monotony of work, over-centralization, and financial instability. They will idealize neither the worker nor the machine, these men; but, taking them as they find them, they will work for the spiritual liberation of the first, and the proper subordination of the second. If the College shape such men, Lazarus shall have his champion, and Dives shall have his guide.

Furthermore, there is need of social research in relation to local needs and institutions. Social science educational centres might be established in each of the boroughs, along the lines of development initiated by the social science departments at the University of Chicago, at George Washington University, and at

other urban institutions. The venture combines educational and civic values. The scientific approach to regional problems provides a valuable approach to the study of larger public problems, while social research provides an instrument of significant progress.

Another service the College might render, is the establishment of a special bureau for the study of the educational needs of community organisations. Competent leaders would be recommended, programs drawn up, and educational courses established.

No less numerous and needful are the opportunities for political service. Surely one of the really important duties of the citizen is his work of guiding the destinies of his community. Let the younger generation be taught how this duty may best be discharged, and wiser government will be assured. The public school system indeed, owes its origin to the realization that the good citizen must be able to perform his political duties intelligently. But the changes in industrial and political methods in our day indicate that the citizen, in addition to mere intelligence must have also a sense of trusteeship; and the training of this sense of trusteeship is both a more important and more difficult thing than the development of mere political intelligence. The City College should seek therefore, not merely to develop certain lines of knowledge, but certain essential qualities of character and habits of action as well. Never before were the virtues of courage, discipline and loftiness of purpose more necessary to the citizen of the City. There is urgent need that the City College make one of its chief functions the forming of disinterested public opinion. Such an object may be consummated only by developing broader and better personalities. And in such personalities, the sophomoric flippancy and cynicism of our generation, like its indiscriminate pursuit of gain and its flouting of the law, will give place to a constructive leadership, an unselfishness, and a belief in our possibilities born of a high regard for the ideal of public service.

I have pointed out in the foregoing certain functions of the City College. It is proper now to indicate how they may be exercised to best advantage, how the College must adapt itself to the new needs of the community.

In the first place, we must be less pre-occupied with exercise in details and more with the teaching of ideas. The creature of routine, and routine alone, while not a positive detriment to the public welfare, is not an asset to his community. He who knows only the names of things without comprehending their meaning, cannot effect that creative transformation which makes for progress. Then too, we are concerned too much with the teaching of facts and not enough with the ability to reason with them. More specifically, whereas citizens are required to meet many and varied demands for which they need help, we offer what is virtually a uniform and standardized training; whereas all citizens faced constantly changing environment, and consequently constantly changing demands. We do not give assistance for meeting these changed demands; whereas occupations are constantly changing in their demands and opportunities, we make no provision for these changes; whereas civic demands are constantly changing and new civic demands are constantly arising, our curriculum remains virtually unaltered.

This is in no sense an indictment. It demonstrates merely that, while the College has accomplished much, more remains to be done. When the College was founded in 1847, her students came from a city of 450,000 people; to-day they come from a city of 7,000,000. With this increase in numbers has come an increase both in influence and responsibility. And though this growth has been much too rapid for the College to keep pace with, the responsibility has been assumed and the influence of the College has never wavered or grown less beneficial.

It remains to be seen how the City College has been enabled to perform its functions so consistently and well. The relation of the College to New York life has, of course, always been thorough and vital. As an exponent of real equality of

opportunity in education, the College has offered its services gratuitously since its establishment, to all who would take advantage of them. It provided then, as it does now, such a system of education as gives every citizen an opportunity of acquiring knowledge and fitting himself for places of trust. So democratic an institution cannot but make for popularization of learning in its community, nor can the citizenry fail to benefit from the breadth of view and the leadership of its college-bred members.

The effective scholarship of the College is borne out by the later careers of its graduates, but the City College has always been more concerned with economic and social efficiency than with individual success. It appears to be guided indeed, by the belief that "There is an instinctive sense that the highest end of government is the culture of men, that if men can be educated their institutions will share their improvement, and the moral sentiment will write the law of the land."

ARTHUR NEWMAN

TWILIGHT

Twilight
Is a princess
Who walks across the hills
Turning on the stars to light
The ampitheater of night.

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD

DAWN

Dawn is
A little girl
Who runs over the hills
Bringing an armload of flaming
Sun-beams.

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD

THE ORGANISATION OF SOVIET POWER [1]

The Decay of Tsardom.

Like all great events in history, the Russian Revolution of November, 1917, was not a sudden cataclysm. It had a fairly long history behind it and for purposes of analysis, attention might be concentrated on three different aspects : the weakening of the power of the Tsars, the development of Marxism and Leninism, and the rise of the Soviet idea.

The autocracy of the Romanov dynasty in Russia had seemed so secure and well-established to the ordinary observer that its overthrow within a week in March, 1917, came as a great surprise. A careful study of Russian history in the nineteenth century however reveals factors and tendencies which go far towards explaining the spectacular events of 1917. It may safely be asserted that the beginnings of the decline of the Tsarist power may be traced back to the reign of Nicholas I (1825-1855). From this period onwards, we notice a succession of checks to the expansion of the Russian empire as well as a steady growth of internal opposition to the absolutism of the Tsars.

From Peter the Great to the middle of the nineteenth century, the prestige of Russia as a Great Power had gone on increasing. Even Napoleon had failed to bring her under his domination and Russian resistance largely contributed to his downfall. The rude shock of the Crimean War (1853-1856) ushered in a period in which however this glory was a thing of the past. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, in spite of military successes, marked diplomatic defeat and a definite check to the march towards Constantinople. Russia was still expanding

[1] Popular Lecture under the auspices of the University of Dacca delivered on the 8th January, 1932.

in Central and Northern Asia but her way came to be barred by the British Empire in India and by Japan, and a humiliating defeat was inflicted by the latter in the war of 1904-1905. Finally came the crowning disaster of the Great War in 1914. It is instructive to note that after each of these rebuffs, the domestic opposition gathered fresh strength in Russia.

A permanent opposition to Tsarist autocracy dates also from the reign of Nicholas I. "Westernisation" under Peter the Great and Catherine was a hobby of the rulers imposed from above but the European campaigns of Alexander I exposed his soldiers and officers in a body to Western influence and awakened independent thought in Russia. It was no accident that the first political movement for a constitution—the Decabrist rising—took place in 1825. The policy of repression adopted by Nicholas stopped political agitation for the time being but failed to prevent the growing habit of thinking on Western lines among the educated circles. The triumph of the school of Westerners in the field of philosophy and literature was an indication of coming changes in the political sphere.

After the Crimean War and in response to the wishes of the educated classes, Alexander II (1855-1881) emancipated the serfs in 1861 and inaugurated local self-government and minor reforms. But the concessions of the Tsar Liberator were overdue and inadequate. The serfs, for example, got their legal liberty no doubt, but they obtained only half the land of the country and had to bear the burden of compensating the landlords for the same for years to come, in addition to heavy taxation for State purposes. Emancipation therefore was coupled with economic distress caused by small holdings and financial obligations. Similarly there was no idea of following up local self-government with a constitution at the centre. The disappointment and disillusionment of the radicals were therefore quite natural.

From 1861, extremist agitation made its appearance in Russia. There was a feeling of revolt against authority and

tradition among young intellectuals which crystalised into the school of Nihilism, a first picture of which is attempted by Turgenev in his *Fathers and Children*. A students' movement also originated which was inspired by Herzen's famous slogan "To the People." The followers of this creed—of attempting to rouse the masses by going back to the villages and sharing the life of the people—were styled the Narodniki—"the men of the people."

Some of the Narodniks trod the path of violence and for twenty years after 1866, a grim struggle was waged between individual terrorists and the Tsarist government. Alexander II was murdered in 1881 and his son and successor Alexander III (1881-1894) launched the policy of bitterest persecution. His system was continued by Nicholas II (1894-1917) in the first part of his reign. Not only the terrorists but also the peaceful propagandists, as well as the dissident sects and minority communities like the Jews and the Poles came within the scope of this oppression. The Narodniks were more or less crushed—their agitation amongst the masses failed likewise to create a strong movement, for the peasants were traditionally indifferent to anything except the land question and religion. But the sweeping tide of the Industrial Revolution in Russia had already led to the emergence of a new opposition—the Socialists.

The most numerous of the Socialist groups was the Social Revolutionary Party or the S.R.S. They continued the Narodnik tradition of concentrating on the peasants, and relied partly on the old methods of individual terrorism and loose decentralised organisation. Opposed to them were the Social Democrats led by Plekhanov, who were inspired by Marx and who discarded individual terrorism in favour of organising the town workers for a Socialist revolution. The Social Democrats broke up into two sections in 1903 on the question of organisation and tactics, the Bolsheviks or the majority, following Lenin, and the Mensheviks or the minority.

The next landmark is the fateful year, 1905, when the crisis caused by the Russo-Japanese War was utilised for a widespread agitation for reform in which all classes participated. This is sometimes called the First Russian Revolution. After a successful General Strike, representative government was promised by the Tsar. The extremists who refused to put their trust in this promise were crushed by force once again.

But the concessions of 1905, besides being purely political, were not far-reaching and did not last long. A national assembly—the Duma—was set up but by 1907, the electoral qualifications were so modified by the government that its representative character was seriously modified. After a brief respite, opposition on all sides revived from 1912. The disasters of the Great War stiffened the demand for reform while the Tsar, entirely in the hands of the Empress and her advisor, the monk Rasputin, refused any fresh concessions. The result was a wave of national resentment which finally overwhelmed the House of Romanov in the Second Russian Revolution (March, 1917).

The Provisional Government which assumed power on the abdication of Nicholas II soon became a coalition between the liberal parties and the moderate socialists. There was no unity of purpose and no strong man at the helm. Nothing was done towards any arrangement with the Soviets or workers' councils springing up everywhere or with the national independence movements within the Empire. The land-hunger of the peasants remained unappeased and, to crown all, there was no respite from the War for the weary people. The Bolsheviks under the astute leadership of Lenin, now returned from exile, gave focus to the widespread discontent by raising the slogans of—" All Power to the Soviets," self-determination for the dependent nationalities, the land for the peasants and immediate peace. In November, 1917, they effected the third revolution and seized power for themselves.

2

Marx, Engels and Lenin.

I have traced the outline of the history of the downfall of Tsardom in Russia—the steps which led to the breakdown of the old order. It is necessary now to consider the main ideas of the Bolsheviks who found themselves in power by the end of 1917. The name Bolshevik of course is accidental and was officially changed in 1918 to that of the Communist Party of Russia. Communism was the term adopted by Karl Marx for his doctrines in 1847, and was used by him as a synonym of Socialism. Bolshevism is therefore simply Marxism of the present day and the teachings of Marx and his lifelong colleague Friedrich Engels, as expounded by Lenin from the scriptures of the Bolshevik movement.

Stripped of their intricacies, the cardinal doctrines of Marx may be said to be four in number.

In the first place, there is the celebrated philosophy of the materialistic conception of history which insists that "the material conditions of life, taken as a whole, primarily determine the changes in human thought." [1] Marx maintained that the system of production in a given society is all-important and shapes law, religion, political conditions and social thought. Ideas and institutions are but the reflections of economic organisation of a society and are bound to change along with its development.

Secondly, we have the analysis of modern production and the economic doctrine of the Surplus Value. Developing the labour theory of value of the classical economists, Marx treats labour-power as a commodity sold for wages and declares that this labour-power "produces values above the cost of tools, raw-materials and its own costs." [2] This surplus is now appropriated

[1] Laski, *Communism* (58).

[2] Laski, *Communism* (98).

by the capitalists though no value can be created without labour and capital itself is obtained by labour.

From an analysis of society is derived the third dogma—the irreconcilable nature of class conflict. Society in the historic period has always been made of different classes with divergent interests which it is not possible to reconcile with each other. Class-conflict—open or veiled—is always present in a society so long as there is a division into classes. One class dominates usually over others and the so-called national or common interests represent the interests of that class alone. The whole apparatus of the State is simply the organ of maintaining the rule of the dominant class, and this is true not only of the old slave-holding or feudal estates but also of a capitalist democracy. Whatever the form of government, the State is the engine of the economically dominant class.

The fourth characteristic idea of Marx is his theory of the evolution of class-society. The domination of a class cannot be perpetual for it raises forces in antagonism. Capitalism, for example, is disturbed with frictions which must lead to the breakdown of the machine. It will be replaced then by socialism—just as feudalism was supplanted by capitalism. The coming of socialism is inevitable, being in the nature of things and a necessary product of capitalism itself. But socialism means abolition of classes and hence this end of class-conflict will stabilise human society on a permanent basis with a total absence of conflict, friction or contradiction.

These ideas of Marx were generally accepted by the European Socialist Parties in different countries. But gradually they lost their edge in the days of the Second International (1889-1914) and other essential teachings of Marxism, specially relating to the method of bringing about the transition from Capitalism to Socialism, were more or less forgotten. They were revived by Lenin who drew attention to the lesser known works of Marx and Engels and reinterpreted the more famous texts.. The addition of these revived doctrines constitutes the difference between

Bolshevism and an old-fashioned Marxist party like the German Social Democrats.

Lenin in his turn laid the greatest emphasis on four of such doctrines.

Firstly, he declared that Capitalism was bound to break down in the immediate future on account of its inherent contradictions. There were three conflicts which were sure to distract capitalist society—the class-war within each country, the rivalry between imperialist powers, and the struggle between the imperialist countries and the colonial and the backward peoples. Imperialism of the twentieth century was the last gasp of Capitalism. Stalin defines Leninism, we might remember, as " the Marxism of the epoch of Imperialism." [1]

The second mark of Leninism is the belief that the transition from Capitalism to Socialism can only be effected by a violent revolution. Individual terrorism was definitely rejected by the Bolsheviks but they deny the possibility of a peaceful establishment of Socialism, even through a democracy. In a capitalist democracy, it is contended, the masses of the people are taught to accept the established social order as permanent, under the influence of the Press, organised religion and education, all of which are completely controlled by the middle classes. The workers also have no voice in what concerns them most—the regulation of their working life. Only a minority of class-conscious workers can realise the true position and in the face of capitalist propaganda, they cannot win a majority. Force must be used to break the power of the capitalist class though of course a revolution can only be successful when the time is ripe. Lenin was equally opposed to heedless " insurrectionism " associated with the French revolutionary Blanqui and to the idea of peaceful " gradualism " of the moderate Socialists.

Thirdly, it is maintained by the Leninists that after the revolution, there must be established the dictatorship of the

[1] Stalin, *Leninism* (13).

proletariat for the epoch of transition into Socialism. Democracy or full individual freedom in this stage would only result in a counter-revolution. The State after the Revolution must be a proletarian state keeping down by brute force the remnants of the capitalist classes. On this point especially, Kautsky and the older Marxists differed from Lenin but there cannot be any doubt that the authority of Marx and Engels is on the side of the latter. The system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is described by Lenin and Stalin to mean the domination of the alliance (the "smychka") between the proletariat and the peasant with the former leading the way. This dictatorship is expressed through the institutions of trade unions, soviets, co-operatives, youth leagues and the Communist Party—the last being the guiding force.

In the fourth place, this arrangement is temporary. With the final abolition of classes, the State will disappear, will "wither away", as Engels called it. The proletarian quasi-state and its dictatorial rule will then make room for a free democratic association of society—much as the Anarchists envisage their ideal commonwealth, without any classes or any coercive power of the State.

3

The Idea of the Soviet.

The institution of the Soviet is a very recent one. Even in the Bolshevik theory before 1917, there is very little stress laid on the Soviet. Between March and November of that year however, Lenin raised the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets." This virtual adoption of the new idea by the Bolsheviks was the consummation of two different processes—the rise of the new institution on the one hand and the necessity increasingly felt by Communist thinkers for establishing some such organ of the working classes as the Soviet.

The Soviet of course is a council elected by workers or peasants. At its inception at any rate, it had three peculiar features—it was a working class institution from which the bourgeois was excluded; the constituencies were occupational and not residential, being centred usually in the different factories and places of work mainly; and the electors could recall and replace their delegates at will instead of waiting for a general election. In troubled and critical times, the Soviets therefore were useful committees faithfully reflecting the opinion of the workers.

R. W. Postgate suggests an interesting history of this new type of organisation. The idea occurred to J. E. Smith, a follower of Robert Owen, in the heyday of the Owenite movement in England (1833-34). In the Owenite paper *The Crisis*, he suggested that the House of Commons should be replaced by a " House of Trades " with a new set of boroughs, each trade forming one. The device appears next in France at the time of the revolution of 1848 when the Provisional Government in order to get the Socialist leader Louis Blanc out of the way, entrusted him with the task of drawing up proposals for labour organisation, with no intention of course of really carrying out his ideas. Blanc formed an assembly for this purpose, which represented the Paris workers, industry by industry, and was called the Luxemburg Commission. It disappeared after the failure of the workers' rising in the June Days of 1848.[1]

These anticipations of the Soviet were probably unknown to the Russians when the St. Petesburg Soviet was formed in 1905. It was a full-fledged representative of the new type and played a leading part in the General Strikes of that year. It had a Menshevik majority and a leading figure was Trotsky. The institution disappeared after the suppression of the extremists at the end of the year 1905 but evidently it left its memory behind. In the March Revolution of 1917, the Petrograd

[1] Postgate, *The Bolshevik Theory* (132-34).

Soviet came into life and its example was followed in almost every town and even in the countryside. The new Soviets rapidly increased in power and exercised much pressure on the government. The Bolsheviks were the only party to realise their importance and openly proclaimed their championship of the new organisation.

The way to this policy had been indicated by the writings of the leaders. On the eve of 1848, Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* declared that the State after the Socialist Revolution must be "the proletariat organised as the ruling class." After the experience of 1848-51, Marx concluded in his *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* that the task of the Socialist Revolution was " to concentrate against it (the executive power of the State) all the forces of destruction " and added that the two institutions to be first broken were the bureaucracy and the military machine (1852). The next landmark is the Paris Commune of 1871 which was thoroughly studied and analysed by Marx in his *Civil War in France*. In this booklet and in the last joint preface to the *Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels (1872), a further forward step is taken and it is laid down that the "working class cannot simply seize the available ready machinery of the State and set it going for its own ends." In a letter in 1871, Marx explained that the heroism of the Paris Communards consisted in their attempt to " shatter " the existing bureaucratic and military machine. The Commune was the first attempt towards a proletarian state. The Council of the Commune, mainly a working class assembly, was "not a parliamentary, but a working corporation, legislative and executive at one and the same time." The members could be recalled at any time and the officials received about the same pay as ordinary workers, while the standing army was replaced by arming the workers. Government was cheapened by the destruction of the two most expensive institutions—the bureaucracy and the army—and at the same time was placed within the reach of the common workers. The conclusions of Marx about the

Paris Commune were restated by Engels in 1891. Lenin points out in his *State and Revolution* all this development in communist thought [1] and when the Russian workers spontaneously started their soviets, the Bolsheviks readily accepted the new institution as the fulfilment of the ideas of Marx and Engels and replaced the Tsarist organisation by the Soviet structure. In 1919, the Third International of the Communists held up the Soviet as the ideal to be striven after by the proletariat all over the world.[2]

4

Consolidation of Bolshevik Rule.

The first task of the Bolsheviks after the November Revolution was to consolidate their still precarious position in Russia. The first period in the post-revolutionary history of Russia covers the eight months from November, 1917, to June, 1918.[3] In this as well as the later stages of the progress of the Revolution, two things are worthy of notice, the devotion of the Bolsheviks to their main idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and their readiness to adopt any policy necessary for upholding their prime objective. It is only a failure to remember this which is at the bottom of all the talk about the "retreat" of Bolshevism.

The Bolsheviks naturally lost no time in redeeming the pledges which had brought them power. The first steps taken were not full-fledged communistic doctrinaire measures but efforts to stabilise the new government. Land was proclaimed to be State property but order was given to dispossess the landowners and to distribute their holdings among the peasants. Peasant proprietorship of course is an obstacle in the way of socialism but an alliance with the peasants was the crying need of the hour.

[1] Lenin, *The State and Revolution* (Chs. II-IV).
[2] Postage, *The Bolshevik Theory* (Appendix).
[3] Dobb, *Russian Economic Development* (Ch. II).

The Bolsheviks proclaimed the rights of the nationalities within the empire to self-determination and this move rallied much support naturally. Not only did this step end the national clashes within Russia but it also secured sympathy in the new states which ultimately helped in the establishment of Bolshevik control over them. Lenin's policy in this direction was an excellent piece of propaganda.

The structure of the state on the basis of the soviets was however not merely a politic step—it proceeded from deep convictions. The lessons of the past and especially of the Paris commune led likewise to the creation of the workers' Red Army for the defence of the Revolution.

Conclusion of peace was of course vital for the existence of the new government because that was desired by all sections and the continuation of the struggle was impossible. Here however grave difficulties arose. The Allied Powers whom Russia abandoned at a critical moment refused to conclude a general peace and this opportunity was seized by Germany for proposing most humiliating terms to the Bolsheviks. Knowing resistance to be impracticable, Lenin ordered the conclusion of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March, 1918) in the face of much opposition from his followers. His calculation was fully borne out by events for he judged that the relief from war would outweigh the unpopularity of the terms of peace.

The same policy of seeking a breathing space is revealed in the cautious handling of the economic problem. It is a mistake to suppose that the Revolution led to immediate wholesale nationalisation as was attempted by the Bolsheviks in Hungary. Foreign trade, the banks and the railways were nationalised at once but the industries were not taken over before June, 1918. In the first period after the Revolution, the Supreme Economic Council (the "Vesenha") was set up together with the different Factory Councils but the individual owners were not dispossessed at a stroke. This state of things in fact might be styled *diarchy* in industry.

The second chapter in the history of post-war Russia may be said to have lasted from June, 1918, to August, 1921. This is the critical period in the history of the Revolution when it was attacked from all sides. At home there was the Civil War caused by the "White" counter-revolutionary movement led in different areas by different personages: Yudenitch in the north, Dennikin and Wrangel in the south, Kolchak in the east. The period was ushered in moreover by a rising of the S.R.'s and towards the end food-shortage actually culminated in famine. Then the neighbouring states were unfriendly and Poland was at war with Russia in 1920. Finally the Allies irritated by Russia's desertion in the war, the Bolshevik repudiation of Tsarist debts and their revolutionary propaganda, established a blockade of Soviet Russia and backed up the White expeditions. The principal Russian ports were occupied by British, French, Japanese and American troops. Munitions of war were liberally supplied to the Whites.

Pressed on all sides, the Bolsheviks yet managed to win the war. The Red Army and the energy and the discipline of the Communist Party account largely for the victory, to which also contributed the terrible system of terrorism set up by the government and the apprehensions of the peasants that a White victory would mean the return of the 'emigre' landlords. The troops of the Allies were gradually withdrawn leaving the Bolsheviks masters of the situation.

In the critical days of the Civil War and Intervention, economic policy had undergone a change and "War Communism" reigned in Russia. Industry was nationalised and all wealth treated as the property of the State. The "free market" was abolished and the peasants were required to supply foodstuffs in return for fixed amounts of commodities. This system helped to win the war but was not much of a success otherwise. Production fell off alarmingly and grave discontent raised its head specially amongst the peasantry. Quick to perceive the danger, Lenin inaugurated the New Economic Policy to keep

intact the cardinal gain of the Revolution—the dictatorship of the proletariat. N.E.P. was largely a return to the cautious policy of the first period after the Revolution—the freedom of the market was restored; requisitions were replaced by taxation; there was a return to money economy; concessions were given to foreign capitalists; the private ownership of small industries was permitted. But the State monopoly of the key industries, credit, transport and foreign trade and State control remained. Capitalism as the phrase went, was revived but encircled and jealously watched.

The introduction of the New Economic Policy in 1921 marks the opening of the third stage in post-revolutionary Russian history. The compromise hailed by critics as a confession of the impracticability of the Communist programme was however designed to be temporary and indeed proved so. The latest epoch of Russian history introduced by the adoption of the Five Years Plan in 1928 rather disconcerted critics by resuming aggressively the campaign against Capitalism. It is indeed too early yet to pronounce any judgment on the Communist experiment and its feasibility in Russia.

5

The International Organisation—Problems of Propaganda and Foreign Contact.

So far I have been concerned with tracing the history of the organisation of Soviet Power. It still remains to consider the different aspects of this organisation. I shall review in turn six questions and the problems connected with them.

The Bolshevik Revolution has created such an impression on the whole world that it is quite natural to turn first to the international organisation of the Communists. The *Communist Manifesto* of 1847 ended with a call to the workers of the

world to unite. Marx maintained that the interests of the workers were identical in each country and their common enemy was the master-class irrespective of national boundaries. In 1864, he organised the First International of the workers which soon came to an end on account of the absence of strong socialist movements in different countries, the withdrawal of English Trade Unionists and a furious quarrel between Marxists and the Anarchists. After the rise of organised socialist parties in many countries, a Second International was started in 1889 but it was a very loose body and meant practically a periodical congress for making great speeches. Its weakness was fully revealed when the Great War resulted in the majority of Socialists in each country rallying to the support of their respective capitalist governments. The Second International, revived after the war, could not therefore enjoy any great prestige. The Bolsheviks, who had steadily opposed the war, felt themselves justified in organising a Third International at Moscow in 1919. Only pure communist parties are admitted to this body which exists for the avowed object of bringing about a socialist revolution in all lands.

In 1919 it seemed that the hour had come for the downfall of Capitalism all the world over and a new era was proclaimed by the *New Communist Manifesto*. Communist parties, dazzled by the success of the Bolsheviks, sprang up everywhere. They are strictly controlled by the centralised Moscow International and propaganda went on apace. Since then Communism outside Russia has suffered a serious set-back. As Stalin admitted in his Report to the Fourteenth Party Congress in Russia [1] (May, 1925) that Capitalism has been stabilised for the time being. This has damped the zeal for the Third International. Moreover, difficulties had been created by unrestricted propaganda not only in the relations between Russia and foreign states but also between communists and the

[1] Stalin, *Leninism* (354).

mass-movements of workers in other countries. On the one hand foreign governments naturally objected to the propaganda of the Third International and demanded satisfaction from the Soviet Government with the result that Russian trade was hampered. On the other hand, communists were expelled from the labour parties for their intrigues and the policy of "the united front" of the workers broke down both nationally and in the international sphere. To-day there are not only two internationals—in most countries the ordinary Socialists and the Communists are organised in different and mutually hostile parties. Again the Communists have also largely lost the sympathy of bourgeois nationalist parties in backward countries like China. Resolute persecution by the Governments has completed the discomfiture of communism outside Russia—with the possible exception of Germany where it is still a rising tide. Under the circumstances, the Third International is partly under a cloud. But it cannot be discarded and forms a vital part of the Communist organisation. Not only does theory demand a world revolution but even the realist Stalin is of opinion that, since the existence side by side of Soviet Russia and the capitalist states is not possible for an indefinite time and will lead sooner or later to foreign intervention in Russia, the Third International serves a useful purpose in weakening the enemies of the Soviet Power. Trotsky and his friends went further in maintaining that it was impossible to build up socialism in Russia without bringing about a world revolution first.

The organisation of the Comintern or the Third International is simple. There is a World Congress representing affiliated parties and meeting periodically which elects the Executive Committee which ordinarily is the supreme authority in the Communist world. This Committee functions in two smaller departments—the Praesidium and the Bureau of Organisation which are the sections of the Chairman and the Secretary respectively. The Profintern is an associated organisation of

Trade Unions all over the world which are sympathetic to Communism. (Fig. 1.)

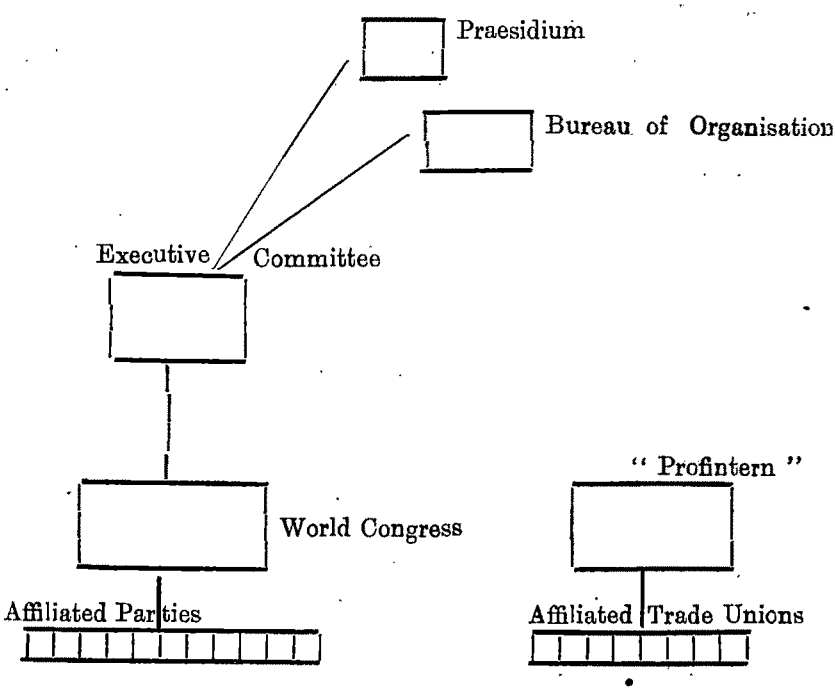


FIG. 1.

A consideration of the question of foreign contact proceeds naturally from a review of the Comintern. The Civil War in Russia after the Revolution had interrupted all relations with the outside world. Things improved after 1921. The dissemination of falsehoods about the Bolsheviks was on the decline and it was supposed abroad that N.E.P. was Bolshevism in repentance. The Russian government also became more anxious for foreign credit and trade. Russia was on friendly terms already with her Asiatic neighbours. She was the first friend of the new Turkish Republic and helped materially the Nationalist Government of China. Her relations with her European neighbours were also satisfactory with the exception of Poland and

Roumania with whom boundary disputes persisted. In 1921, Trade Agreements were concluded with Britain, Italy and Germany. Full recognition of the Soviet Power by England in 1924 was followed by similar action on the part of Italy, France and Japan. Germany had already recognised Russia in 1922. With occasional breaks and frequent frictions these relationships still continue. The United States resolutely refuses to recognise Soviet Russia but informal co-operation between the League of Nations and Russia is not quite unknown though the Bolsheviks continue to denounce the League as a bourgeois institution designed to protect Capitalism.

6

The Communist Party in Russia—Problems of Freedom and Discipline.

The dictatorship of the proletariat in Soviet Russia is exercised through the Communist Party which is the motive force of the whole system. Theoretically the Party is subject to the Comintern but its prestige is great enough really to dominate the International.

Spread all over Russia there are about 50,000 "Yacheikas" or "cells" which are the units of party organisation in factories, villages, etc. They elect District Committees in villages and Ward Committees in the cities which elect in their turn the Provincial and the City Committees respectively. At the head of the Organisation stands the Party Congress—the supreme authority of the Communist Party. But really the directive power is concentrated in the hands of the Central Committee while co-ordinate to it is the Control Commission charged with the powerful mission of keeping the party-organisation pure and up to the mark. The Central Committee sets up three important smaller bodies—the working committee or the Political Bureau

(consisting of the chief leaders), the Secretariate and the Organisation Bureau. (Fig. 2.)

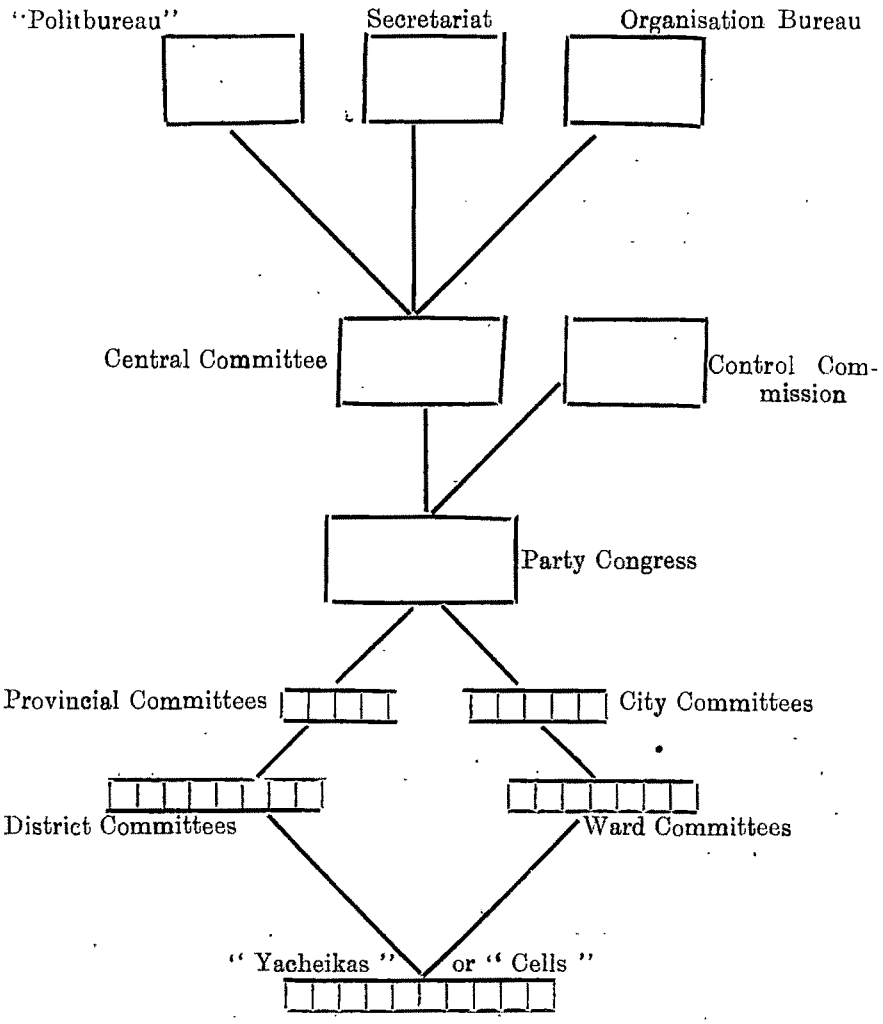


FIG. 2.

The characteristic feature of the Communist Party organisation is the stress on discipline. The decision of the Party Congress is binding on every member and disobedience may mean expulsion from the Party. Prior to the adoption of a decision by the Congress members are free to debate and discuss for a pretty long time any item of policy but from the moment of the

decision, unquestioning obedience is required. The iron discipline exerted from the centre was a vital point distinguishing Lenin's attitude from that of the Mensheviks. As every Communist is pledged to carry out the party decision and as all "key" positions in the Soviet State are held by Communists, it follows that all matters of importance are carried out in Russia in accordance with the wishes of the party. It has also to be noted that the Party is numerically small and to-day barely 1 p.c. of the population belongs to the party. As far back as 1903, Lenin had insisted on quality being taken as the basis of the party and since then the Bolsheviks have never hankered after an increase in membership. The Control Commission as a matter of fact excludes and expels persons on the slightest suspicion of weakness or backsliding and it also carried out frequent "purges" to purify the party. Readers of the Soviet novel *Cement* might recall graphic scenes of a "purge" depicted therein. It is not difficult to see why the Communist Party retains its hold in Russia. The party of course commands the strategic positions in the State and is used to energetic action and fanatical discipline. But that is not the whole explanation. The communists enjoy the prestige of success and the gratitude of the masses for the undoubted improvement in their lot which is bound to be imperilled by a restoration of old forms of government. Again the party takes very great care to keep in the closest touch with the workers and the peasants and is always mindful of the opinions expressed in soviets. Being used to "samocritika" or self-criticism, it has never hesitated to confess mistakes and change its policy in accordance with the undoubted tendencies of the mass-opinion. The adoption of N.E.P. is an instance to the point. According to the Leninist theory, of course, the party is the guiding force, the vanguard of the workers and consists of their class-conscious sections. The lead comes from the party after studying mass-opinion and even non-communist workers feel that in carrying into execution "the general line" of the party in soviets and

other institutions, they are really sharing in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Still no risk is taken by the Communists and no other organised party can have a legal existence in Russia. One can be openly either a communist or "non-party." Individual freedom in the sense of the right to express one's own opinion on vital questions is not allowed. The machinery of repression stands ready—headed by the O.G.P.U., the successor of the notorious "Cheka." The chief criticism of Karl Kautsky, the great theoretician of the Second International, against the Bolshevik system was exactly this denial of freedom to individuals. But the Red Terror is openly defended by Communists without any apologies. It is contended that the traditional bourgeois "freedoms" were always illusory for the masses; that the Bolsheviks do openly what is accomplished furtively elsewhere; that so long as classes remain distinct, oppression is inevitable as the State is simply the organisation of the domination of one class. The unfortunate sufferers can console themselves that the logic of history is against them. If it is argued that the same justification can be given for a White Terror, the communist replies that there is a vital difference. Oppression of the proletariat can only postpone revolution, never ward it off. Historically the proletariat is the rising class. Persecution of dying class like the the capitalists helps the process of evolution. To the communist mind absolute or as he will call them "bourgeois" conceptions of right and wrong are foreign. "The gendarmerie of Tsarism" said Trotsky "throttled the workers who were fighting for socialism. Our extraordinary commissions shoot landlords, capitalists, and generals who are striving to restore the capitalist order. Do you grasp this distinction?—for us communists, it is quite sufficient."[1]

I have mentioned the iron discipline of the Communist Party. But that has not eliminated internal dissensions though

[1] Laski, *Communism* (140).

party loyalty has certainly prevented disruption as yet. In spite of differences among the leaders, the history of the French revolutionaries has not been repeated in Russia. According to the theoreticians, all currents of feelings among the workers are reflected periodically inside the party.

In general it may be said that the party under the guidance first of Lenin and now of Stalin has managed to steer clear of the two extremes of reaction and hot-headedness. On the eve of the November Revolution Zinoviev and Kamenev preached caution but Lenin's boldness was justified triumphantly. After the Revolution Lenin firmly resisted however Bukharin, Radek and others when they advised rejection of German peace-terms and wholesale nationalisation and he ridiculed this left-wing communism as "an infantile disorder." After the death of Lenin in 1924, there was a great controversy between Trotsky and the "Triumvirate" consisting of Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev. It was partly a personal strife, for it has to be remembered that Trotsky who had joined the party only in 1917 was disliked by the "Old Bolsheviks." The Triumvirate broke up in 1925, Stalin being attacked by his two colleagues. As General Secretary of the Communist Party, Stalin was the chief personality in Russia. But in 1926, the new opposition was unexpectedly reinforced by Trotsky, and the struggle went on till the final downfall of the famous leaders: Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, and Rakovsky all of whom were expelled from the party in 1927. Most of them repented and were readmitted to the party. Trotsky alone has refused to recant with the result that he was exiled in 1929. Trotskyism had two main charges against Stalin's leadership—that Stalin had deviated from the path of world-revolution by toning down the ideal (as far back as 1905, Trotsky had preached the doctrine of "permanent revolution") and that his policy at home was encouraging capitalism and was unduly favourable to the rich peasants (the "Kulaks"). This accusation of "Thermidorian reaction" as it was called on the analogy of French

history was repudiated energetically by the Communist Party as a whole. After the disgrace of the Trotskyites there was another clash in 1928 in which Stalin defeated the "Right Deviation" represented by Bukharin, Tomsky and Rykov. This last was a reactionary tendency the spirit of which is represented by Bukharin's blunt advice to the peasants—"Get Rich." The present Five Years Plan arose partly as an answer to the "Right Deviation." Successive dangers from over-caution and overzealousness have been thus defeated by the Communist Party.

7

The Constitution of Russia—Problems of Centralisation and Nationalities.

Russia is not a homogeneous country and the Bolshevik revolution saw the disruption of the Empire into various states. Bolshevik control however was established in most of these countries through the rise of native communist groups to power. In 1923, a federal constitution was adopted which created the present Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

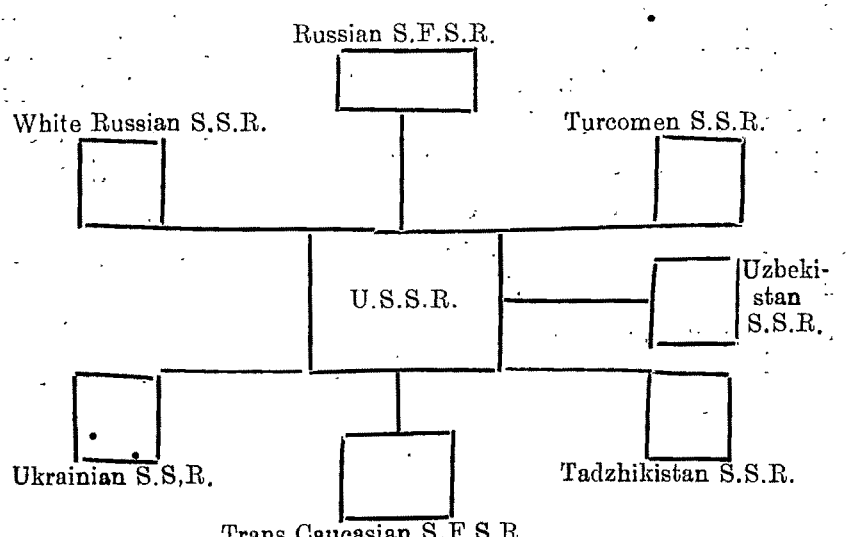


FIG. 3.

Seven Socialist Soviet Republics federated together in 1923 —Russia Proper, White Russia, Ukraine, Trans-Caucasia, Turcomania, Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan.[1] Several of them again have autonomous republics and autonomous areas within their limits—there being 23 such in Russia Proper alone. Russia and Trans-Caucasia are themselves styled Federal Republics.

In the Union itself though the name of Russia does not occur (probably in the hope to facilitate admission of new foreign states to the association in future), there is an overwhelming predominance of Russia Proper. This is due to the advanced character of Russia no less than to the fact that in resources and population, Russia alone is much greater than the other six states taken together. According to the Constitution, morever, there are five Departments for the whole of the Union—Foreign Affairs, War and Marine, Home and Foreign Trade, Transport, Posts and Telegraphs.[2] This makes for centralisation as also the fact that the Communist Party organisation embraces the whole Union.

The sovereign authority under the Constitution is the Union Congress of Soviets which elects the Central Executive Committee sitting in two chambers—the Council of Nationalities and the Council of the Union. Apparently the two parts of the "Tsik" or the Central Executive Committee are chosen on two different principles of representation—ethnic interests and population. The Central Executive Committee delegates its power to a working committee—the Praesidium—which is supreme between two sessions of the "Tsik." A second small committee is also appointed which is the Council of Commissaries and which is a committee consisting of the ministers and the heads of the departments.

[1] See Benns, *Europe since 1914.*

[2] *Soviet Union Year-Book*, 1929. (Soviet Constitution.)

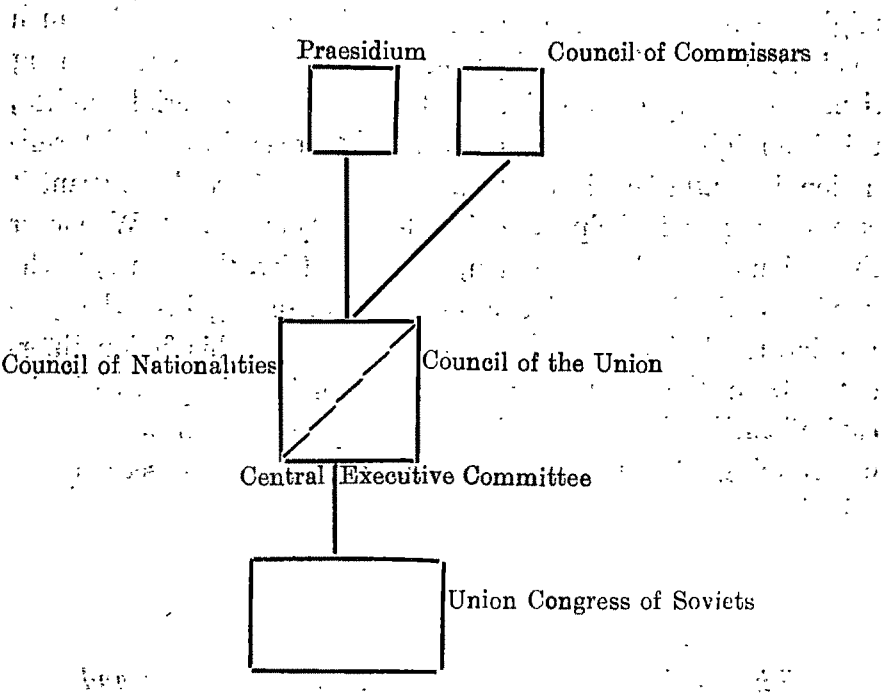


FIG. 4.

The Peoples' Commissars are the ministers of Russia and in 1929 there were ten different departments or Commissariats. No conflict arises between "the government" of the Commissars and the Communist Party because the individual posts are held by Communists who unhesitatingly obey the party.

The handling of the national problem in the U. S. S. R. is most interesting since the Union is the home of a large number of minority nationalities. In the Federal structure itself, an attempt has been made to look after their interests. The Council of Nationalities is an experiment in this direction. Cultural freedom has been allowed to the different peoples with the reservation that the culture tolerated must be proletarian culture—whatever that might mean. Bolshevisation is also proceeding in the case of these peoples, the best students being trained in Moscow in Communist ideology. The type of national autonomy established

might not prove adequate for the future but unquestionably much has been done for backward peoples in spreading literacy among them for example. Considering the variety of material handled, this is a mighty experiment indeed. With regard to self-determination it might be added, Communist theory is ready to grant it only so long as it helps the Socialist Revolution. "Whenever the fiction of self-determination," said Trotsky, "becomes, in the hands of the bourgeoisie, a weapon directed against the proletarian revolution, we have no occasion to treat this fiction differently from the other 'democratic principles' perverted by capitalism."[1] The Bolsheviks were therefore not inconsistent in overrunning Georgia and refusing to recognise the secession of Ukraine.

8

The Soviet Structure—Problems of Democracy and Representative Government.

The Union Congress of Soviets, the sovereign authority according to the Constitution, is elected by the soviets in a most complicated manner. According to the latest information (February, 1931)[2] the old divisions and territorial arrangements have been remodelled. The primary soviets which serve as units in the organisation are the Village Soviets and the Town Soviets elected mainly on an occupational basis. They elect the "Rayon" Soviet for the district. Several district soviets elect the "Oblast" or Provincial Soviet where however delegates from the Town Soviets also come directly. The Oblast Soviets in their turn elect the Soviet Congress of the different Republics and also the Union Congress. In both cases, it seems, the Town Soviets are represented again directly.

[1] Laski, *Communism.*

[2] *Le Mois*, I, 2 (39-47).

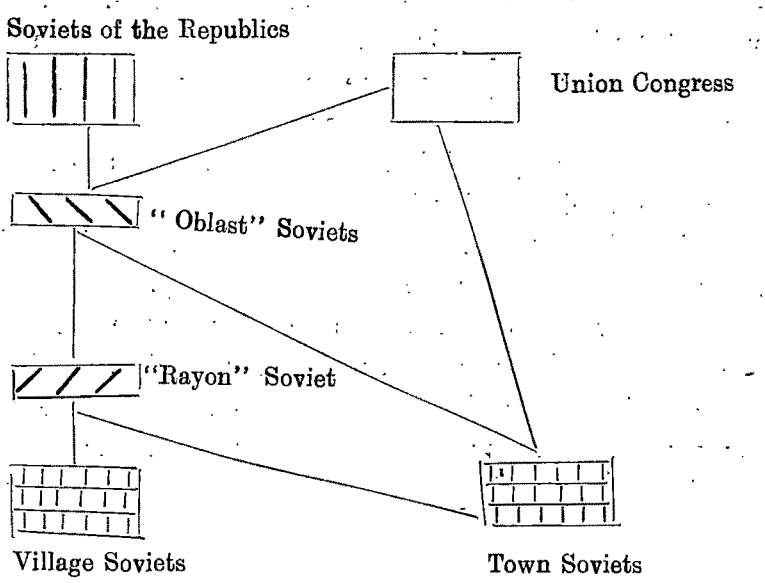


FIG. 5.

The elaborate Soviet structure is partly formal for the Communist Party rules Russia. But officially both the Union and the component republics are Soviet states and the soviets are important for two reasons. They carry out the work of administration under the direction of the party and being true mass-organisations they reflect popular will and party decisions are consequently influenced by them.

That the soviets are not fully democratic is quite clear. Whole classes are disfranchised—employers, rentiers, "nepmen," professional priests, aristocrats. But then nearly in every country there are classes excluded from the franchise and in Russia it must be remembered the workers are the privileged class. What is more important is the fact that democracy is dismissed in theory as an illusion so long as class-distinctions remain. Even among the electors, there is no equality for under the constitution itself, "weightage" is given to the town proletariat to safeguard the Revolution from the peasants. Even more serious is the absence of freedom in voting. Non-communist parties are not tolerated;

voters' registers are checked by communists ; the party carries out systematic propaganda and has a monopoly of it and there is no ballot. All these devices are defended on the ground that the Revolution is too precious to be endangered by the adoption of any middle-class principles. The establishment of democracy after the Socialist Revolution advocated by the "Reformist" Socialists is regarded by the Bolsheviks, on the authority of Marx, Engels and Lenin, as a dangerous trap.

The Soviet structure is also peculiar for the frank adoption of election by stages, at least for the countryside. This undemocratic device is justified on the ground of the vastness of the country. There is much force in the argument that small constituencies like the soviets where the electors personally know their delegates are really more easily represented than huge electoral districts with tens of thouands of scattered voters, which is the only possible arrangement in a vast country under direct election. On the other hand of course indirect election is more liable to corruption and "management." This is really a dilemma for representative government with an extended suffrage, so far as a big country is concerned.

9

Economic Organisation—Problems of Production and the Peasantry.

Economically Soviet Russia has had to contend with two great difficulties, the insufficiency of production which keeps down the level of prosperity and the indifference or hostility of the peasants towards Socialism. The Revolution and the Civil War resulted in a complete breakdown in the system of production. Capital, credit, expert skill—everything was lacking. Disturbed conditions led to reduction in cultivations by the peasants and consequent food-shortage. The towns were more or less boycotted at one time by the countryside. It was a herculean task to reconstruct a system of production

in the face of these difficulties and this one achievement stamps the communist leaders as realists of the first order. By trying different policies in succession, the government built up the economy of the country and even in the days of N. E. P. the capitalist elements were kept in due check. The pre-war production has now been passed and the recent great drive towards increased output has produced a deep impression even in capitalist circles outside Russia.

If ever the Soviet power breaks, it will be on the peasant problem. The millions of Russian peasants are still dumb and future of the country is in their hands. If they are successfully "bolshevised" the permanence of the new order is assured. That is the aim of the government of course but if the masses claim a share in effective political power without achieving the preliminary condition, the situation will become most difficult for the Communist Party. One remedy lies in rapid industrialisation of Russia the idea behind the famous electrification scheme of Lenin. As yet the "smychka" or the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry persists. The party also has established a control over peasant society. In Russia, there are three grades of peasants the rich "Kulaks," the "middle peasants" and the poor peasants. The last class, of course, was looked upon always as the allies of the proletariat but at the Eighth Party Congress, Lenin also advocated a firm alliance with the most numerous section—the "middle peasants." The charge of undue favour shown to the "Kulaks" was however rebutted by the adoption of the Five Years' Plan which threatens the last group.

At the height of the Trotskyites' agitation, one question was heatedly discussed whether it was possible to build up socialism in one country alone without the support of World-Revolution. Against the opposition, Stalin maintained, on the authority of Lenin, that Russia was perfectly able to build up a socialist society by herself but the danger of successful intervention by the capitalists would remain until revolution takes place in the important countries.

I have already mentioned the four economic stages in the post-revolutionary history of Russia and the essential traits of the first three periods—those of the first eight months, "War Communism" and N. E. P. The fourth stage begins in 1928 with the "Piatilyetka" or the Five Years' Plan. One feature of the new effort is to spread the institution of collective farms systematically and thus to weaken the capitalistic "Kulaks." State farms are now being reinforced by joint farms of various types. A second feature is to raise the total production year by year, according to a schedule drawn up in advance. The necessary capital is saved by the workers themselves as credit is not given from abroad. This causes great hardship for the workers but apparently the burden is cheerfully borne for it is felt that the sacrifice is for the interest of the working class itself and not for the profits of others. The progress of the scheme excites tremendous interest and excitement among the Russian people.

The most striking fact about the Five Years' Plan is the drawing up of a detailed comprehensive programme for economic uplift by the State and the resolute attempt to live up to the ideal. It is unique in the history of the world in this respect and has attracted the admiration of even hostile critics. The Plan has certainly carved out a special position in history for the Bolsheviks.

10

Cultural Organisation—Problems of Religion and Education.

The cultural achievements of Communism in Russia cannot yet be properly studied but the policy of the State deserves attention with reference to two questions—religion and education.

Lenin in his *State and Revolution* quoted with approval the dictum of Engels about "the adoption of the principle that

in relation to the State religion is simply a private matter."[1] State support was thus withdrawn from the Churches after the Revolution. But in relation to the party, religion was not a thing of indifference. On the contrary, Marx had described religion as the dope of the people. It was incumbent on the Communists, therefore, to conduct a vigorous propaganda against religion and the party members are expected to be free from its influence. The war against religion is carried on by special organisations; religious leaders have been persecuted on the charge of counter-revolutionary activities and the younger generation is being subjected to organised attempts to wean it from religious faith. But the effect on the peasants is doubtful. Meanwhile Communism itself is becoming a religion and its votaries resemble the Puritans[2] in fanaticism and the Jesuits in discipline.

The achievement of the Bolsheviks which has won the most unstinted admiration from all observers is the spread of education. The fight against illiteracy has an epic grandeur and considering the vast area and huge numbers, much has been accomplished. It might be objected, it is true, that the education supplied is a biased, dogmatic class education. The Communist retort in this case is that bourgeois education is equally one-sided and that since the chief obstacle to Socialism is the existing human nature, proletarian education must have for its goal the effecting of a change in that nature. It might be added that in many branches of knowledge, the proletarian bias must be negligible and that education is a great force—whatever may be its character. The best hope for Russia lies in her educational progress—of that there can be no doubt.

[1] Lenin, *The State and Revolution* (78).

[2] Chamberlin, *Soviet Russia.*

11

I have refrained from judging the Bolshevik adventure in Russia except to the extent that is unavoidably involved in any selection of facts. Before passing opinions, one must be familiar with the circumstances. The canon of objectivity is now accepted by almost all students of history. What is important in this connection is to understand a set of ideas and institutions first before drawing conclusions. I have therefore tried my best to confine myself to an explanation of the facts in recent Russian history.

S. C. SARKAR

THE EARLY PHASE OF MIR QASIM'S CAREER

The early life of Mir Qasim is obscure like that of many other characters of Indian History. No chronicler thought it necessary to enquire into the details of his younger days, and he had no court historian of his own, who could have left a detailed account of his life and activities. The date and the place of his birth are unknown, and cannot be ascertained. All that can be said is that he came of an ancient and noble family of Persian extraction. His father, nominally an Imperial mansabdar, was one of the numerous jagirdars in Bengal.[1] His name was very probably Razi Khan.[2] Mir Qasim's grandfather was Imtiaz Khan, a distinguished poet, surnamed Khalis, who had once held the responsible office of the Diwan of Patna.[3]

Razi Khan appears to have been a rich man, but he did not take any active part in the politics of his time.[4] He led a retired life in his own jagir, the exact locality of which again is unknown.[5] It may possibly have been somewhere near Patna,

1 Khulasat-ut Tawarikh (JBORS., V, p. 344).

2 *Ibid.* There is a diversity of opinion in regard to this point. In the Siyar (Lucknow Text, p. 691), it is mentioned that Mir Qasim was a son of Sayyid Murtaza, although in Raymond's Translation of the Siyar (Calcutta Reprint, II, p. 374) the name given is "Seyd-Arizy-qhan." According to the Riyazu-s Salatin (A.S.B., Text, p. 379), Mir Qasim's father was Nawab Imtiaz Khan, but this is a mistake, as the latter is stated to have been Mir Qasim's grandfather by all other chroniclers including Kalyan Singh, and Ghulam Husain. The former, however, may be relied upon, as he expressly mentions, "that author has heard from trustworthy persons that he was a son of Mir Razi Khan ....."

3 Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 691. Khulasat (JBORS., V, p. 344. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. University MS.), p. 732.

4 Khulasat, JBORS., V, p. 344.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 749. There are still three villages with a somewhat similar name near Patna, but there is none called "Lohanipur." (For this information, the writer is indebted to Mr. G. E. Owen, I.C.S., sometime District Magistrate of Patna, who very kindly offered to make a local enquiry.)

for according to Ghulam Husain, Mir Qasim's father was buried in a village called 'Lohanipur' not far from the latter city.[6] Lohanipur was probably the principal village of his father, and it may be that he had been born and brought up here.

Mir Qasim surely received the best education of his age, as he grew up into a man of scholarly tastes. His contemporaries have borne testimony to his scholastic attainments. He was a keen student of Mathematics and Astrology. His proficiency in Mathematics enabled him subsequently to be an efficient financial administrator. He did not, however, seem to have received any military training, and this remained his greatest shortcoming.

When Mir Qasim attained his youth, he was married to Fatima Begum, daughter of Mir Jafar. It was surely his aristocratic lineage that made him eligible for the hand of Alivardi Khan's niece. It is stated by Kalyan singh that Mir Jafar married his daughter to Mir Qasim at the instance of his brother-in-law Nawab Alivardi Khan himself. The latter gave the young bride a handsome dowry, consisting of cash and jewels, besides a monthly allowance of Rs. 200 to Mir Qasim from the state treasury. This allowance meant that he was henceforth to be one of the honoured courtier of the Nawab. This marriage evidently marked an epoch in the early career of Mir Qasim. He was no longer to remain one of the obscure landholders of the country. He had now acquired a definite status which exalted his position considerably. Furthermore, he had gained an entrance into the arena of court politics, and it was now for him to distinguish himself as best as he could. But for this happy marriage, Mir Qasim would have ended his days like any other petty jagirdar. It would not be any exaggeration to state that his subsequent rise was absolutely due to his marriage with Mir Jafar's daughter. It must be understood, however, that he did not immediately obtain any important post. As a matter of fact, during the regimes of Alivardi Khan, and Sirajuddaulah, he remained in obscurity.

It was only when his father-in-law became the Nawab of Bengal that Mir Qasim began to take a prominent part in the administrative affairs. The accession of Mir Jafar to the masnad of Murshidabad was the next important epoch that changed the course of his son-in-law's career. An unknown courtier now suddenly came into prominence by virtue of his close relationship with the reigning Nawab. By this time his abilities and experience had naturally ripened on account of his touch with the kaleidoscopic politics of the "Subah"; and the recent events must obviously have roused his dormant ambition. It is significant that Mir Jafar himself had not shown any marked favour or consideration to his son-in-law, and had done nothing to improve his status. In fact it appears that he positively disliked Mir Qasim.[1] It is difficult to account for this strange lack of cordiality between the two, but it may be suggested that Mir Jafar's prejudice against Mir Qasim arose out of his suspicion of the latter's ambitious intentions. Miran had also aggravated[2] his father's prejudice, as he looked upon his brother-in-law as a possible rival. In fact, Mir Qasim's future did not seem to be very promising. He had reckoned upon the support of Alivardi Khan alone, but after the latter's death, he was left without any well-wisher.

Mir Qasim had been an interested spectator of the revolution of 1757, that brought about the sudden elevation of his father-in-law to the masnad of Bengal. His opportunity now came. He was commissioned[3] by Mr. Kafar to pursue the fugitive Nawab Sirajuddaulah who had fled for his life after the momentous rout at Plassey. Mir Qasim marched at the head of

1 Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 691.
2 *Ibid.*
3 Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 640.
Jamiu-t-Tawarikh (Elliot, VIII), p. 428.
Tarikh-i-Muzaffori (Elliot, VIII), p. 330.
Riyazu-s-salatin, p. 375.

a small force to join Mir Daud Ali Khan, Faujdar of Rajmahal.[1] Before his arrival at Rajmahal, however, the latter had been informed by a 'Faqir' who lived in the neighbourhood that Sirajuddaulah was at his place. The late Nawab had once maltreated this mendicant,[2] and the latter now wreaked his vengeance on him by betraying him to his pursuers. Both Mir Daud and Mir Qasim hurried to the residence of the 'Faqir,'[3] and surrounded Sirajuddaulah and his party. The unfortunate fugitives were subjected to a cruel treatment by the captors. Not even the ladies were spared. Mir Qasim's conduct in this unpleasant affair was extremely harsh and unchivalrous. He not only insulted and abused the late Nawab, but cruelly treated the latter's faithful concubine, Lutf-un-Nissa. He coerced her by threats into surrendering to him all her valuable jewels.[4] This example was promptly imitated by others who laid their hands upon the rest of the women. Mir Qasim thus easily came into possession of a valuable treasure that stood him in good stead later on. Ill-gotten though it was, it enabled him to recruit a small force of his own.[5] It is needless to add that Sirajuddaulah was escorted by Mir Qasim's agents to Murshidabad where he was put to death.[6] The successful capture of the ex-Nawab and the spoliation of the latter's women marked the commencement of Mir Qasim's unscrupulous activities.

After his accession, Mir Jafar was kind enough to bestow on his son-in-law the governorship of Rangpur.[7] The position was

[1] Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 640. Mir Qasim was not the Governor of Rajmahal, as has been stated by writers like Thornton (History of the British Empire in India, p. 55), or Beveridge (Comprehensive History of India, I, p. 487). Forrest (Life of Lord Clive, II, p. 12) has further mistaken in taking Mir Qasim for Mir Jafar's brother-in-law who too bore the same name.

[2] Siyar (Lucknow Text), pp. 640-1. Riyaz, p. 376.

[3] Chahar Gulzar Shujai (Elliot, VIII), p. 212.
'Dan Shah Pirzadah' according to Riyaz, 'Dana Shah' in the Siyar.

[4] Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 641.

[5] Khulasat (JBORS, V), p. 345. Chahar Gulzar Shuzai (Elliot, VIII), p. 214.

[6] For details, *vide* Siyar, Riyaz, Ibrat-i-Arbab-i-Basr, Tarikh-i-Mansuri, etc.

[7] Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 691.

certainly an arduous one ; and as Faujdar of this district, he at once became one of the principal officers of the Government. It is a pity that we know very little about his short administration of Rangpur, but it may be presumed that he must have gained here a considerable experience of the administrative problems, which was serviceable to him after his elevation to the masnad of Murshidabad. It was at Rangpur that he could acquire a first-hand knowledge of the country's administration, and so his brief apprenticeship there was of great importance to him. Being in charge of a big frontier district, and of the troops stationed therein, Mir Qasim was soon able to aspire after greater honours, but the jealousy of Miran was a serious obstacle in his way.

Nothing of interest occurred in Rangpur during Mir Qasim's governorship except the appearance of Mons. Courtin and his party who had escaped from Dacca to Rangpur after the fall of Sirajuddaulah.[1] The French party held out on the banks of the river Tista, having erected a strong mud fort. Mir Qasim received orders from the Nawab to attack them. He therefore marched against them early in 1758, and surrounded them from all sides. The small party defended themselves bravely, but it was a hopeless struggle. Mons. Courtin therefore wrote to Mr. Scrafton, the English resident at Murshidabad, offering to surrender himself and his followers prisoners of war.[2] Mr. Scrafton in anticipation of the Select Committee's acceptance of this offer requested the Nawab to send a 'parwanah' to Mir Qasim directing him to stop the hostilities.[3] The Select Committee approved of Mr. Scrafton's action, and accepted Mons. Courtin's offer of surrender.[4] The party surrendered early in March, 1758.[5] This seems to have been the only occasion when Mir Qasim was called

[1] Orme's History of the Military Transactions, Vol. II, p. 285.
[2] Mr. Scrafton to the Select Committee, Feb. 13, 1758.
[3] Beng. Sel. Com., Feb. 22, 1758.
[4] *Ibid*, Feb. 22, 1758.
[5] *Ibid*, March, 20, 1758.

upon to take the field in his own district, and beyond surrounding the Frenchmen with the help of a large army,[1] he had nothing else to do.

When Bengal was being simultaneously attacked early in 1759 from the north-west by the Shahzadah, and from the south-west by the Marathas under Sheo Bhat, the position was indeed critical for Mir Jafar.[2] Once again, the services of his son-in-law were requisitioned towards the end of February.[3] He was directed to proceed to Patna,[4] but while he was encamped[5] on the river Damodar with his troops, Kamgar Khan, one of the principal lieutenants of the Shahzadah, hurried to surprise him.[6] That Mir Qasim was no general is evident from the fact that he had foolishly led his men to a dangerously isolated point without keeping watch on the movements of the enemy in the neighbourhood. He had, however, a narrow escape. Being informed of the approach of Kamgar Khan, he retreated precipitately to join the main army of Mir Jafar. A part of his force that happened to be in the rear was intercepted and overpowered by the enemy. It is significant that after this inglorious retreat Mir Qasim took no part in the military operations that followed. Even if he had distinguished himself it is doubtful whether he would have been entrusted with a responsible command so long as his rival, Miran, was in charge of the Nawab's affairs. It was merely on the score of his relationship with the Nawab that he held even nominal commands. His lack of an aptitude for war was the chief handicap that prevented him from gaining any distinction.

1 In his letter to " A Messieurs du Conseil de la Royall Compagnie D'Angleterre, A Calcutta," Mons. Courtin pointedly refers to " L'armee de Cachemeli Kan, Nabab de Rangpour " (*vide* Beng. Sel. Com., Feb. 22, 1758).

2 Beng. Sel. Com., Jan. 25, Feb. 10, and April 20, 1759.

3 Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 25.

4 ,, P. L. I., ,, p. 6.

5 Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 680.

6 *Ibid*, p. 681.

It was during the hostilities between the English and the Dutch in November, 1759, that Mir Qasim was next ordered [1] by the Nawab to march on Chinsura in order to demolish its new fortifications. The task was simple, yet Mir Qasim failed to complete it with sufficient promptness and zeal. Mr. Holwell wrote, "In the apparent delays of this service, Cossim Allee Cawn suffered much in the opinion of the late president... ." Mir Qasim's procrastination and inefficiency were, however, explained away by Mr. Holwell [2] in his elaborate minute submitted to the Select Committee. He urged that Mir Qasim's dilatory tactics had been really prompted by the Nawab himself, and that the former had been unjustly blamed by Clive.

In the beginning of 1760, the Shahzadah again invaded Bihar ; and on Clive's departure Caillaud had to take the field against him along with Miran. At this juncture, the Marathas again entered Bengal, and appeared in the vicinity of Burdwan [3] to make a diversion in favour of the Shahzadah. The Nawab again deputed his son-in-law to defend the Burdwan country from the Marathas. Mir Qasim marched at the head of about 1,500 of the Nawab's troops towards the end of February.[4] Under the instructions of the Nawab, a body of the Company's troops joined Mir Quasim.[5] The latter reached Burdwan by the middle of March,[6] and there he received orders from the Nawab to march [7] at once against Sheo Bhat.

Mir Qasim was obviously not the right person for this task, as he had never shown the least talent for military operations. He was absolutely unworthy of the command now given

1 Holwell's Memorial, Beng. Sel. Com., Aug. 4, 1760, Vansittart's Narrative, I, pp. 54-5.

2 Beng. Sel. Com., Aug. 4, 1760.

3 ,, ,, ,, Feb, 25, 1760.

4 Holwell to Caillaud, Feb. 24, 1760. *Vide* India Tracts, p. 27.

5 Beng. Sel. Com., Feb. 25, 1760.

6 Holwell to Hastings, March 15, 1760. (*Vide* India Tracts, p. 31.)

7 Holwell to Hastings, March, 21, 1760. (*Vide* India Tracts, p. 31.)

to him. In spite of a sufficiently large force, he dared not make head against the invaders, but on the contrary remained hanging about Katwa. A vigorous offensive would have saved the neighbouring country from the ravages of the Marathas, but Mir Qasim failed to launch a bold attack against the enemy from his excessive timidity and nervousness. Ultimately he was ordered to retreat, when he should have advanced towards the south to drive out the Marathas from the country.[1] The result was disastrous. The country adjacent to Burdwan was ruthlessly pillaged by the invaders, and there was an enormous loss of revenue in consequence. Mr. Holwell held Mir Jafar alone to have been responsible for Mir Qasim's failure to stop the Maratha inroads.[2] According to him, the Nawab's own "pusillanimous, irregular, and contradictory orders" hampered Mir Qasim, and finally obliged the latter to retreat to Murshidabad. Mr. Holwell's attempt to defend the conduct of his own 'protegé' does not carry conviction. His profound aversion to Mir Jafar blinded him to the pusillanimity and incapacity of Mir Qasim whose cause [3] he had openly espoused, and whose actions he consistently sought to defend.

It appears that Mir Qasim had been more intent on securing the post of a minister than on distinguishing himself on the battle-field, but the jealousy of his brother-in-law was a bar to his progress. For obvious reasons Miran could not have tolerated the rise of his brother-in-law, hence Mir Qasim could not secure the post of Naib at Patna, which he eagerly coveted. In fact, the post held by Ramnarayan had also been sought by the Nawab's brother-in-law, Mir Qasim Ali Khan, but the latter also failed to supplant Ramnarayan in spite of the Nawab's support.[4] Clive managed to effect a reconciliation between

[1] Holwell's Minute, Beng. Sel. Com., Aug. 4, 1760.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Holwell to Caillaud, May 5, 1760. (*Vide* India Tracts, p. 56.)
[4] Beng. Sel. Com., Feb. 18, 1758.

Ramnarayan and Mir Jafar, and got the former confirmed in his appointment.[1] Mir Qasim Ali Khan had intrigued against the Naib, till he was murdered in December, 1758, at the instance of Miran.[2] The death of his namesake had removed the principal competitor from the way of Mir Qasim, and the latter realised that the support of the English alone could neutralise Miran's opposition. In order to seek the assistance of the English, Mir Qasim actively canvassed for the support of Clive and Hastings,[3] and finally succeeded in winning over Holwell when the latter became the President after Clive's departure. It is interesting to note that Clive, before he left Bengal, had expressed his approbation of Mir Qasim's pretensions to the post of Ramnarayan, and it was on the ground of his recommendation that Holwell ostensibly espoused the cause of Mir Qasim.[4]

While Mir Qasim was engaged in maturing his scheme of securing the Naibship of Patna, a most unexpected and dramatic event occurred. On the 3rd of July, Miran was accidentally killed by lightning.[5] This completely altered the position of Mir Qasim. A thunderbolt had removed the biggest obstacle from his path, and he now became one of the most prominent persons in the Nawab's family. The Nawab had two minor illegitimate sons, and an infant grandson who too was the child of a concubine of Miran. Under the circumstances, Mir Qasim naturally came into prominence, being the husband of the only surviving legitimate daughter of the Nawab. Thus, the sudden

[1] Beng. Sel. Com., March 2, 1758.
" " " " 20, 1758.
" " " " 31, 1758.

[2] Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 689. Holwell's Minutes, Beng. Sel. Com., Aug. 4, 1760.

[3] Hastings to Caillaud, Jan. 18, 1760. Caillaud to Clive, Jan. 24, 1760. (*Vide* Prof. Dodwell's "Dupleix and Clive," p. 195.)

[4] Holwell's India Tracts, p. 56.

[5] There is a difference of opinion as regards the date of Miran's death. According to Siyar (Lucknow Text, p. 689) it is "19th of Zil-qada 1173" (4th July). Ironside in his Narrative (Asiatic Annual Register, 1800) gives the date as the 2nd July. It was 3rd according to Caillaud and Hastings. Vansittart also gives this date (Narrative, I, p. 33). *Vide* also Beng. Sel. Com., July 28, 1760.

demise of Miran was bound to widen the scope of his ambition. The Naibship of Bihar was now a secondary consideration. Mir Qasim hoped to succeed to the posts held by the late 'Chota Nawab.' Mir Jafar was almost crushed by grief at the premature death of his eldest son. He was so much affected [1] by the bereavement that he seems to have even lost his reason temporarily. The affairs of the government fell into a state of utter confusion. The Nawab no longer attended to his duties. The troops in Bihar, who had not been paid for some time past, became mutinous, and Caillaud pacified them with great difficulty.[2] Matters were still more serious at Murshidabad.[3] Owing to financial difficulties, there was a regular crisis in the capital. The Nawab's liabilities amounted to two crores of rupees, and the troops were clamorous for the huge arrears of their pay.[4] The Raja of Birbhum desirous of fishing in troubled waters threatened to advance against Murshidabad, while the Marathas too ravaged the neighbourhood of Burdwan. The death of the heir-apparent at this hour intensified the general chaos. The old Nawab was powerless to handle the situation bravely. There was no one else in his family who could have done so. This was a golden opportunity for Mir Qasim who determined to exploit it to his fullest advantage. Shrewd, diplomatic, and unscrupulous as he was, he knew that his life's chance had come at last, and it was too valuable to be lost.

The confusion in the capital reached its inevitable climax, when the disorderly troops openly mutinied,[5] and besieged

1 Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 691. Khulasat (JBORS., V), p. 235, Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 732. Jamiu-t-Tawarikh (Elliot, VIII, p. 429). Chahar Gulzar Shujai (Elliot, VIII, p. 214).

2 Beng. Sel. Com., 18th Aug., 1760.

3 Mir Qasim's own Narrative, *vide* Trans. P.L.R.; Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 38, p. 54. Vansittart's Narrative, I, pp. 34-41.

4 First Report from the Select Committee, 1773, p. 155.

5 Trans. P. L. R. Jan.-Sept. 1763, No. 38. Vansittart's Narrative, I, pp. 34-41. Beng. Sel. Com., July 28, 1760. Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 691. Khulasat (JBORS., V, p. 446). Riyazu-s Salatin (A.S.B. Text), p. 380. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 733.

the Nawab in the 'Chihil Satun' palace. They had frequently surrounded the palace in the past, but in vain. Their demands had not been satisfied, and even their vile abuses had created no effect, but when the sepoys received the intelligence of Miran's death, they became uncontrollable. On July 14, they surrounded the palace in an angry mood, insulted the principal officials, and even molested the treasurer and the other 'mutasaddis.' Such disorders continued even on the next day. On the 16th, their attitude became still more violent. They besieged the gates of the palace, and allowed no body to go inside, or come out. In the meanwhile, groups of sepoys mounted on the walls, violated the sanctity of the 'Zenana,' and threatened to kill the Nawab unless their grievances were immediately redressed. Those who dared to remonstrate with them against such conduct were freely assaulted. This state of affairs lasted for a few days. Mir Qasim had so long been a silent observer of the grim drama that was being enacted at the capital of Bengal. He now came upon the scene in the character of a saviour of the Government, and appeased the ringleaders of the insurrection by paying from his own treasury three lakhs of rupees. He also volunteered to be security for the rest of the arrears due to the sepoys. It is needless to add that Mir Qasim had not come to the aid of his father-in-law out of sheer generosity. He had agreed to save the situation upon being promised that he would be appointed to the vacant offices of Miran.[1] This at once proves his astuteness and opportunism. He had deliberately kept himself in the background during the commencement of the mutiny, and he made his entry as a peace-maker [2] long afterwards just to impress the people, and win over the troops in a dramatic fashion. Having saved the city and the Nawab from a dire calamity, Mir Qasim became the hero of the hour.

Mir Jafar's promise to nominate his son-in-law as his successor had not been meant to be kept, and the latter was soon

[1] Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 24.

[2] Vansittart's Narrative, I, pp. 41-2.

disillusioned. The Nawab was too suspicious to have trusted Mir Qasim for long, and he thought it best to remove the latter from Murshidabad on some fair pretext. Mir Qasim was now invested with the Faujdari of Purnea, and the infant son of Miran, Mir Saidu, was named the heir-apparent with Rajballabh as his Diwan.[1] It was at the instance of Caillaud that the Nawab apparently refused to recognise Mir Qasim as his heir.[2] Caillaud had represented that the army 'jamadars' wanted Miran's son to succeed the Nawab,[3] and Rajballabh to remain Diwan as before. Caillaud did not support the appointment of Mir Qasim as Diwan on two grounds.[4] Firstly, he rightly argued that if Mir Qasim were raised to the Diwanship, his relationship would make him almost equal to the Nawab, and the little child might be ignored. Secondly, Clive had meant Mir Qasim to be the Naib of Patna in case Ramnarayan willingly resigned to be made the Ray Rayan, for an artful man like the latter could not long be trusted at Patna, whereas his proficiency in revenue accounts would make him an admirable Ray Rayan.

Mir Qasim's disappointment was bitter indeed. His hopes to succeed the Nawab seemed to be shattered. There were only two alternatives open to him now. Either he should be content with the Faujdari of Rangpur and Purnea, or he must have recourse to diplomacy and intrigue in order to gain his object. Mir Qasim was too ambitious to pass his days as a common Faujdar, and he was too selfish to be deterred from his purpose by moral scruples alone. He resolved to secure the masnad of Murshidabad by fair means or foul.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

[1] Beng. Sel. Com., 18th Aug., 1760.
Beng. Sel. Com., 11th August, 1760, also, Siyar, p. 691.

[2] Vansittart's Narrative, I, p. 41.

[3] Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 691.

[4] *Vide* Letter from Mr. Sykes, dated Cassimbazar, 8th August, 1760.

THE OUTLOOK OF PRESENT-DAY PSYCHOLOGY

A Brief Abstract.

Present-day Psychology in a hopeless confusion, due to the confusions of its fundamental conceptions. The scientific claim of modern psychology. Its implications and difficulties. Suggested remedies; four different types of Psychologies:

(1) Physiological Psychology, (2) Behaviouristic Psychology, (3) Neo-Realistic Psychology, (4) Psychology of the Unconscious.

McDougall's characterisation of these movements as representing the Apollinian and Dionysian tradition. The opposition between them explained. The scientific *vs.* the Hormic Psychology. The shortcomings of the scientific outlook. Its subordination of the psychical to the physiological unsatisfactory, consciousness cannot be entirely repudiated, nor explained as a relational correlate of neutral elements.

Consciousness and Life closely knit together. Consciousness not a fact, but a value,—the meaning of the life-process. Factual Psychology not possible, the necessity of a Humanistic standpoint.

'Psychology despite the vast amount of excellent work that has been done, remains, as respects theory, in a state of confusion, because its fundamental conceptions are not clear.' With the main drift of this indictment there is general agreement, although some would even go beyond and demur to Dr. Strong's prefatory appreciation of a 'vast amount of excellent work' done in recent years. To be sure, there has been 'with the 19th century, especially with the beginning of Experimental Psychology, quite an enormous quantity of psychological writing,' an indication of sudden upheaval of enthusiasm over psychological issues, yet inspite of such widespread interests psychologists to-day are so radically, so acrimoniously divided upon the meaning, the scope and the methods of their science that present-day psychology, far from showing any line of progress, is in a hopeless confusion. Almost day after day new modes of enquiry, fresh starts are

made, not as a completion or continuation of those already in vogue, but very often in direct opposition to them, with the result that psychology has been in danger of losing its identity both in form and spirit.

The controversy has been raging over three questions: What is Psychology? What is its subject-matter? and what are the principal lines of approach to its theme?

Barring out the orthodox classical tradition, when psychology, with its pre-occupation with the soul, developed as an annexure to theology, counting upon supernatural insight and inspiration, or turned to the natural light of reason in disregard of the supernatural, and became affiliated to metaphysics, we find the opinion widely prevalent that psychology is principally a science and should be modelled upon the physical sciences. In keeping with this scientific claim its subject-matter should be so defined as to render it amenable to the methods of observation, experiment, analysis and measurement on which scientific precision and accuracy depend. Desire of scientific merit thus obliged psychology to drop the soul, and turn to consciousness itself; it was defined as the science of the facts or phenomena of consciousness, such as perceiving, judging, desiring, etc., without any reference to the soul.

Behind this definition, simple as it looked on the surface, there lurked a number of knotty issues. There is, first of all, the question of the aim of the science—whether it aims at mere description or explanation of the facts of consciousness. Turning to its subject-matter, the nature and origin of consciousness is also deeply shrouded in mystery. Psychologists, usually alive to the inexplicable character of consciousness, made no attempt to explain it. Rather they started with it as something primary and original, one of the basic principles of existence and proceeded to investigate the manner of connections among the various contents embraced by consciousness. But this procedure leaves unsettled several other questions. We do not know whether these various contents are themselves, each individually in its own way, the

primary units, the atomic centres of consciousness, so that the apparent unity of consciousness is only a resultant product brought about by the extraneous piecing together of these units, or whether consciousness is from the outset a unified totality which sends out its rays of light in all directions and thereby transmutes into psychic character even the non-psychic elements as they come on the way. These alternative viewpoints suggest a deeper problem as to whether consciousness is really fragmentary, ridden with discontinuities, or whether behind the apparent discontinuity there is an underlying thread of continuity. If consciousness be an unbroken continuous current we have to ascertain, in the first instance, whether the continuous conscious current maintains a uniform rate of intensity at every point, or whether there are ups and downs, variations in the degree of intensity. The latter supposition raises the problem of the subconscious, and its relation to the conscious presses for solution. From another direction continuity of consciousness reveals other difficulties. It fits in better with the doctrine of impersonal consciousness—the theory of consciousness as a universal flow, without any marks of distinctions of individuality. The existence of personal consciousness, each person constituting an insulated centre, shut up within his own self is found to be incompatible with the doctrine of continuity of consciousness. Either then we have to disown the reality of personal consciousness or go back to the earlier supposition of discontinuous consciousness.

But the doctrine of discontinuous consciousness leads to no better prospects. There is the initial difficulty of stating clearly the boundary lines of discontinuities. We may assume the personal form as the limiting point of discontinuity so that while there are gaps and barriers between one person and another, the inward being of each constitutes one unbroken pulse of consciousness. And if such a supposition is hard to defend in view of the obvious breaks in personal consciousness caused by sleep, swoon and other circumstances, we may sink to a more elementary level

and fix upon a series of rudimentary units, each constituting a sort of self-identical flash, not yet developed into the stage of full-fledged personality. When consciousness is resolved into such a series of detached impersonal bits, each inviolably retaining its unique status of being, we are again thrown into the awkward situation of explaining how personal form of consciousness is evolved out of such detached impersonal units. The fragmentary character of consciousness leads to other complications as well. In our usual experience existence presents itself throughout its different modes as an integral whole, so much so that from any grade of occurrence we may pass over to any other without encountering any break. Possibility of such a continuous interconnection of parts strengthens our belief in the reality of the whole. But when owing to the fragmentary character of the elements causal interconnections cannot be traced out among them it naturally begets suspicion about the intrinsic reality of such elements. This explains why we are so very distrustful of the reality of consciousness, treating it as a sort of epiphenomenon of the more abiding processes of the physical universe in whose reality we have unshaken confidence. Without pushing the matter further we easily see how difficult it is to start with any offhand definition of consciousness as the subject-matter of psychology.

Regarding the question of methods our difficulties are as perplexing as ever. The objections to the introspective operation on which we depend so much for our knowledge of the psychical are a commonplace in psychology. It is indefensible from logical considerations, while its accuracy for purposes of science is held in question. If it be interpreted as the process whereby the subject turns his awareness away from other objects upon himself, making an object of himself, we are driven to a theory of consciousness with a subject at its centre—a theory of consciousness which threatens introspection with immediate ruin owing to the alleged impossibility of a subject becoming an object at the same time. On the other hand if consciousness be viewed as

a succession of self-luminous states introspection as a distinct operation becomes wholly unnecessary.

The advocates of scientific psychology distressed at the bewildering confusions gathering round this new science of consciousness with its reliance upon the time-honoured method of introspection are now moving forward with heroic measures of reform.

In the forefront we place those who think that the hope of psychology ever becoming a science lies in its keeping in close touch with neurology. Next we have to reckon with those who seek to explain the conscious by reference to the unconscious. From this we pass on to a group of thinkers who begin by disavowing consciousness as a reality and then proceed to reintroduce it as a sort of functional or relational correlate of elements, neither psychical nor physical in their original make-up. And lastly we have the complete repudiation of consciousness in the cult of Behaviourism which illustrates the culmination of the movement that started with the aim of explaining consciousness and finally ended by explaining it away altogether.

McDougall in a recent article on ' The Present Chaos in Psychology ' thinks of these movements as representing roughly two different lines of tendencies. Borrowing Nietzsche's terminology he calls one of them as Apollinian and the other as Dionysian; of the four different types referred to above, three, *viz.*, Physiological Psychology, Neo-Realistic Psychologies and Behaviouristic Psychologies represent the Apollinian whilst the remaining one, *viz.*, the Psychologies of the Unconscious with their different inflections may be taken as expressive of the Dionysian tradition.

The opposition between the two points of view really centres round the questions: whether it is possible to construct an intelligible scheme of man from the viewpoint of natural science? The Dionysian tradition grows out of the conviction that there is in man a principle which is not natural and which cannot be explained as we explain the facts of nature. The Apollinian view

on the other hand is nourished in the belief that the whole of reality including even the spiritual life of man is measurable in terms of natural scientific categories.

The real stumbling block to the construction of a wholly naturalistic science of man is the current notion in the freedom of human personality. And so the protagonists of the Apollinian tradition set themselves to the task of whittling down this power of free activity, declaring it either as wholly illusory, or treating it as consisting for the most part of feelings of bodily movements. If it be possible to dispense with the active subject from the usual account of consciousness, a way, it is believed, is found for a scientific account of consciousness. Structuralism indicated the direction of such a scheme by resolving all complex mental states into sensations, images and feelings. But the full carrying out of the scientific programme demanded more than this. It required, in conformity with the ideal of the exact sciences, that the simple elements be amenable to quantitative determination, if not in themselves, at least through their correlation with physiological changes. Psychology thus assumed a new rôle; from the psychical it shifted on to the physiological.

It is difficult to pronounce any judgment upon Physiological Psychology, for owing to the uncertainty of the relation between the psychical and the neural it is not clear whether the physiological is to supersede the psychical or whether it is to serve as a fingerpost indicating the direction of the psychical. The former supposition leads to the abolition of psychology, while the latter appears to be infected with a fallacy. We certainly do not know the neural better than the psychical. Even when we assume a knowledge of the neural it is developed on the basis of our knowledge of the psychical.

Nor does Physiology open up any prospects for the quantitative determination of the psychical. For Physiology itself, though erstwhile dominated by mechanistic tradition, is now in open rebellion against mechanism. Under the leadership of

J. S. Haldane and others modern physiology no longer accepts the model of physics, but inclines in favour of vitalism. Psychology thus gains very little in regard to its scientific claim by subordinating itself to physiology.

The root-cause of these complications, as we have seen, is attributed to the belief in the reality of consciousness. Consciousness not only vitiates psychology, but also taints the biological sciences with the cult of vitalism. Scientific psychology must therefore renounce consciousness itself. All human action, to be made perfectly intelligible, must be reducible to nothing more than a series of mechanical reactions to physical impressions. The modes of these reactions may undergo variations, nevertheless such conditioning of reflexes as take place is codifiable into a definite scheme. With this programme Behaviourism aspires to take the place of future psychologies.

The fundamental attitude of the Behaviourist is to treat man simply as a reacting piece of mechanism. Our so-called desires, beliefs, thoughts, even knowledge itself are, in his opinion, nothing but names for different groups of behaviour cycles, so that the entire man, from start to finish, is merely a bundle of reaction-habits, and as such belongs to a chapter of Physics.

There is much truth in the proposition that man is a bundle of habits and in proportion as he surrenders himself to the rule of habit does his life become efficient and perfect. From this point of view, consciousness, even if it were to exist, would be an anomaly, a hindrance rather than an aid to the smooth working of the organism. Even thinking itself, of which we are so proud, is a sort of subvocal speech, an instance of incipient movements in the tongue and throat. If it be easy to doubt the thoughts of other people, I may as well doubt my own thoughts, for the sole evidence I have of the fact of my thinking is the validity of introspection, but introspection, the Behaviourist unhesitatingly declares, is a spurious operation. By the rejection of consciousness psychology is brought in line with the natural sciences.

But can we really eliminate consciousness? Are all facts and occurrences of our life observable by the same method by which facts of physics are known? Evidently not. There are certain facts in our life that are so private for each individual that they are not directly observable, Russel thinks, by any one else save the individual himself. Such facts revealed exclusively to him in whose life-history they occur, though not intrinsically different from the ultimate constituents of the physical universe, are to be treated as the data of consciousness. It is not excusable if in the interest of a theory we shut up our eyes to these facts. There are other more cogent reasons why we cannot do away with consciousness. Man, even though he were a bundle of habits has to acquire his habit, and in the process of acquisition has to discriminate between the useful and harmful modes of reactions. The retention of the useful and the rejection of the harmful ones involves interest and attention guided by the thought of the future good. The ability to act with reference to absent things even when they are not stimulating our senses is presupposed. But such abilities are the marks of what we mean by consciousness.

Some of these difficulties are no doubt removed if man could be viewed as born with a readymade system of habits, called instincts, adapted from beforehand to meet all possible exigencies of situation. A case like this is contemplated in instinct Psychology.

But the position of Instinct Psychology is vague owing to ambiguities in the meaning of the term instinct. By instinct we might mean simply an impulse not yet stabilised, or groups of set habits inherited from ancestors not liable to further modifications. The latter supposition has been disputed in recent years. But allowing the theory to stand it would not turn down consciousness, but merely shift it backward by several steps. The former view of instinct as an impulse makes the problem of a scientific account of consciousness extremely difficult.

But the scientific outcry is not to be silenced so easily. The shortcut device of Behaviourism proves abortive. But other

lines, notably from the Neo-Realistic camp are still open. The extravagantly wild character of these theories and the subtle, sophisticated form they assume render them difficult to follow with ease. To be brief with them, I can only say that their main drift is to bring consciousness down from its traditional olympic heights to the level of the ordinary things of earthly origin. This at any rate is the broad implication of the theory of naturalistic evolution. All class distinctions and qualitative differences are thrown to the winds, even consciousness itself has to take its place as one item among many others in a democratic order of reals. The reality of consciousness is not herein disputed but its mystery as a transcendental element is blown away. In two ways this conscious existent is differentiated from other existents of the democratic universe. One is its internal structure, and the other is the manner of its relationship with other reals. When one existent enters into relationship with other existents they are marked by exteriority, but when any one of these existents enters into relationship with the conscious existent there results that peculiar type of inwardness which is illustrated in knowing. The relation of knowing to the known thus constitutes the essential feature of consciousness. One term of the relation is no doubt an 'object,' while the other term is no object; it is rather an act. Consciousness thus resolves itself into a relation of 'compresence' between an act on one side and an object on the other.

In the eye of other neo-realists this account of consciousness appeared uncritical enough, and the retention of an 'indefinable act' was an obvious indication of the lingering influence of mysticism. A purely relational theory of consciousness requires that both the terms of the relation be of the same status. The specific act whereby 'objects' are transmuted into 'contents of consciousness' must go, nor need we adhere to the notion of a unique class of conscious contents intrinsically different from 'objects.' To start with, there is a world of neutral elements, which in the language of James, is described

as a 'world of pure experience.' Consciousness is explained as a complex derivative occurrence growing out of the peculiar nature of relationship among these primitively neutral elements. The relationship is of that peculiar type which results in 'the experienced togetherness of things.' In this account emphasis is laid on two points, *viz.*, that consciousness in whatever manner generated is a unity, and that this unity is felt.

There are several questions arising out of this relational theory of consciousness. We have to ask: how do a number of things assume that order of connections among them as would change them into a unity,—a unity which is a felt unity as well. The other question is whether the 'feltness' attaches to the unity only or belongs to the contents as well. If this feltness belongs to the contents that is an argument, Rogers thinks, in favour of a kind of reality whose existence has that felt immediacy which constitutes the psychic. If this interpretation is adopted then consciousness is no longer a relation but is a form of existence.

Consciousness exists as an entity or stuff of a peculiar sort, qualitatively different from the stuff of the physical universe. But it need not necessarily appear completely unified in the form of a conscious personality. 'In other words there may be parts of personality functioning unknown to our introspective consciousness.' With this position Psychology of the Unconscious appears on the scene.

According to it consciousness has no sharply defined boundaries. It consists of different levels or strata some portion of which is organised into a personal form and may be detected by introspective operation while a great portion remains hidden beneath the layer of personal consciousness. Such dissociated psychic occurrences, deep-lying in the heart of reality, yet not owned by any definitely organised selfhood, constitute the root-springs of personal consciousness. They might have been forced out of consciousness or 'repressed' as the psycho-analyst would put it, but that only contributes to their hidden strength. The 'dynamics of the repressed unconscious' prove far stronger than

the conscious in shaping the course, normal or abnormal, of our daily life. For long the abnormalities of our life, its conflicts and surprises were held to be an inexplicable mystery, but thanks to the efforts of Psycho-Analysis a clue to the solution of these obscurities has been found in the constant urge of the unconscious for self-expression. It is not possible here to go into the details of the elaborate inventory of terms wherewith Psycho-Analysis seeks to unravel the mystery of life.

The essential thing in the psycho-analytic and other allied movements is the rejection of a factual science of Psychology. There is substituted in its place a new Hormic Psychology which links the study of the conscious with the hidden, obscure impulses of life. Out of this dark background of urgings and impulses, the original, chaotic confused cravings of the life principle, has sprung forth, through long and tedious paths, the little spark of light shining in us as reason and consciousness. It is a bad psychology, extremely abstract and artificial, that seeks to explain this crowning phase of the process without reference to the underground foundation. True psychology must avoid the narrowness of an exclusively intellectualistic formulation of conscious life. It must survey the frame-work of conscious life with due reference to the forces of life-impulse in general. With the intensification of this Dionysian point of view the idea of a naturalistic-scientific scheme of psychology has been losing ground.

What then should be the exact position of Psychology? That depends upon the attitude with which we approach the problem of life: whether we are out to explain, after the manner of Physics, the events and incidents of life disregarding the shades of qualitative differences which they represent, or whether our real interest lies in understanding and appreciating the richness of qualitative progression which the entire rhythm of life-movements indicate. The possibility of such a choice might lead one to expect as if a natural science of life could exist alongside of an idealistic interpretation. This is entirely wrong. As a matter of fact we have no choice left to us here.

Consciousness participates in the suppleness and superabundant vitality of the life impulse; yet the imagery of life is too imperfect to bring out the superior worth of conscious personality. For the primal impulse of life is no more than an inchoate craving and not until it rises to a point of translucence do we get a glimpse of its real significance. The measure of its reality is proportionate for its incessant striving after this goal; and every onward step towards the goal deepens the sense of value for the whole process. The beauty of self-conscious life lies in the fact that without transporting ourselves into a differently constituted world it develops in us a taste for appreciating the full measure of values for which the world stands. If conscious life is considered real it is not because it exists as a fact, but because it means an interminable scale of values in the realisation and enjoyment of which it tends to make itself real. Consciousness, in one word, is the realisation of the deepest meaning of the life-process.

Considerations like these have driven many not only to abandon the natural-scientific point of view, but to treat Psychology as the very foundation of the cultural and humanistic studies. Such a psychology has not yet been in existence, although the general frame work has already been foreshadowed by Dilthey and others. The development of a cultural school of psychology will be the work of persons whose gifts of imagination rank them with poets and whose sympathetic insight enables them to approach the problems of life and personality with broad humanitarian interests. The best preparation for such a task consists in the cultivation of the humanistic attitude—an attitude that has no affinity with the spirit of the exact sciences, but may result from the inner appreciation of the sublime creations of human spirit. From this point of view cultural psychology is to derive inspiration from the great works of art and should itself be modelled on the pattern of an artistic creation.

JITENDRAKUMAR CHAKRAVORTY

EVOLUTION OF CIVIL SERVICE IN THE MODERN STATE

Introductory.

A well-organised civil service has come to be an almost indispensable adjunct and a permanent feature of the modern state. If we study the history of such ancient states as Greece, Rome, Egypt we find a nucleus of such a service, however crude and rudimentary in form in every case, but at the same time we must note that the conception of civil service has undergone a thorough change during the succeeding centuries. Initially there was nothing like a parmanent civil service as we find in all modern states. Some of the duties of the civil service were discharged by popular assemblies, some by an executive body, some through untrained amateurs holding office for a fixed term and some like the fiscal administration were farmed out to private agencies. This was the situation, for instance, in ancient Rome. It has been said "at Rome, as at Athens there was in republican times no permanent civil service worthy of the name."[1] The administrators were mostly untrained amateurs "holding office for the most part for a year at a time, grouped in Committees so as to prevent the growth of individual power, and forbidden in most cases to hold the same office more than once." They were mostly chosen by election and not by lot. Sometimes even the services of the slaves were requisitioned for carrying out the work pertaining to their office. It has been remarked in the course of the article referred to above "if we consider ourselves to be over-administered, Rome considered even as a municipality must be regarded as having been very much under-administered." It has further been

[1] *Vide* an article "Civil Service in Ancient Times," Journal of the Publican Administration, Vol. V, 1927.

suggested that this weakness of the administrative system was one of the many causes that led to the decay of the Roman republican constitution. To Emperor Augustus belongs the credit of reorganising the administration and of creating a real civil service. Most of the principles he adopted in this work, *e.g.*, the abandonment of unpaid service and short tenure of office, the making of civil service into a profession, etc., we find at work in the governmental machinery in modern states The task begun by Augustus was carried further by subsequent emperors till there was a swing in the pendulum to the other extreme and Rome eventually came "to be oppressed by the burden of the fourth-century bureaucracy" "and so Rome, which began by being under-administered, ended up by being grievously over-administered and owed its destruction very largely to that fact. Of the two states, the latter was undoubtedly the worse." Our purpose in citing the case of Rome is simply to illustrate how silently a change in the conception as to the proper place of civil service in the scheme of government came about even in comparatively early times. There is no wonder, therefore, that in the dynamic world of the present day, when ideas and ideals are in a welter of change, the conception of the functions and position of the civil service should have undergone a revolutionary change and can hardly be said to have come to be settled once for all. So we find no uniformity in the practices as to classification of services, recruitment, promotions, emoluments and other conditions of service in general or in the system of organisation. All these have grown up in accordance with the peculiar history and local circumstances of each country. To understand, therefore, the present position of the civil service in any country in its true perspective it is necessary to preface the discourse by an historical study of the course of its evolution. It would be useful to compare in this connection the course of its evolution in some other countries and its present position there.

In England.

The permanent Civil Service of England is held up to-day as the model by publicists of all countries. The government in England to-day is carried on by a happy co-operation and collaboration between the political and non-political elements, the lay chief and the expert subordinates. Thus have Englishmen solved the two-fold problem of combining efficiency in administration with responsiveness to popular opinion. They have reaped the benefits of a well-trained bureaucracy, avoiding at the same time its inherent vices. But it would be idle to think that Englishmen hit upon this solution by *a priori* method. Like every other English institution,—social, political or economic—it is the outcome of a long process of evolution, almost cosmic in character rather than consciously directed to some preconceived end. There have been many faults to be remedied, many defects, to be encountered in the process, but whenever a defect showed itself a remedy has been forthcoming. It is by the process of halting and cautious adjustment that the present system of Civil Service has grown up. It is very closely associated with cabinet government and the different phases of its development have kept pace with the development of the cabinet system. In feudal England there was no such thing as the public service, the whole structure of society and state resting on a system of personal relationship based on land tenure. The conception of a public service or an administration is an incident of the national state and may be traced to Tudor times after the decay of Feudalism. The public service now depended on an unlimited power of patronage of the king or his immediate followers. It was the " king's government " in a literal sense; and king's government was to be carried on in a way and by persons as the king thought best. There did not arise as yet the question of the rights of the subjects to a share in the government, not to speak of ultimate responsibility of the government

to the people. But ultimately the question arose whether England was to be governed under the personal rule of the monarch or under a rule of law formulated by representatives of the people in Parliament and it was decided finally in favour of the Parliament and the people by the Revolution of 1688. Even in choosing his own immediate advisers or ministers the king was to consult the wishes of the Parliament. It was thought that the problem of government was solved once for all by obliging the king to rule through Parliament but in the eighteenth century it was found that the solution was not so easy. The king had a very potent weapon in his hand, *viz.*, the power of patronage and he managed to get a docile Parliament always ready to do his bidding by a free and unscrupulous use of this weapon. The Parliament was filled with "place-hunters" and "king's friends" to echo their master's voice. Thus the long-cherished dreams of the patriots who suffered immense persecution and spilled their blood in the cause of liberty were completely frustrated by the cleverness of thoroughly unscrupulous and astute monarchs. The problem thereafter was how to purge the Parliament of place-hunters and to make it representative of the nation. The method at once simple and efficacious that suggested itself to the popular leaders was to broad-base the electorate on a wide franchise so as to make the constituencies too unwieldy to be bought up by king's friends. But still the problem manifested itself in another form. This was due to the emergence of a new factor, *viz.*, the growth of the party system which made its first appearance after the Revolution of 1688 but was given a fresh impetus by the movement for the extension of the franchise. Political power and along with it the power of patronage passed from the king to the party leaders. Spoils system thrived unabashed in England at this time with all the incidental vices. All sorts of corruption and jobbery were rampant and the morale of the public service was at a low ebb. Things went on in this way till public opinion was aroused to the gravity of the situation and there was a demand

to cleanse the public service of the filth and garbage attendant on an unlimited exercise of patronage. The year 1859 marks a new epoch in the history of civil service in England; from this year dates the present system of recruitment for the public services by competitive examinations conducted through an impartial and independent commission called the Civil Service Commission. Here at least England is indebted to India for taking a leaf out of the Indian administrative system. The competitive system of recruitment of the civil service was originally recommended for India by the Committee appointed by Parliament and presided over by Lord Macaulay. This was adopted readymade for the solution of the British problem. It was accepted at first on an experimental basis but later on confirmed and consolidated by an order in council in 1870. With some minor modifications this still constitutes the basis of the structure and organisation of the Civil Service in England. This was a step of immense constitutional importance. As the public servants were freed from their dependence on party leaders they were assured of a certain security of tenure which enabled them to devote themselves fearlessly and honestly to their work and acquire an aptitude in their respective spheres unattainable by people haunted by the fear of losing their job at any moment with a reverse in the fortunes of their patrons. Moreover the services being thus thrown open to all sections of the community, commandeered all the available resource of talents in the community and no longer remained the close preserve of what Mr. F. G. Heath has designated "the governing families" (referring to friends and relatives of the ministry for the time being in office) in a chapter under the title of "the old monopoly" of his book "The British Civil Service—Home, Colonial, Indian and Diplomatic." Thus was the problem of reconciling administrative efficiency with responsiveness to public opinion, of reaping the benefits of a well-trained bureaucracy while avoiding its vices—solved in England. The administration of England to-day is split up into two parts—one part in collaboration

with the Parliament evolving the lines of policy and directing and supervising the other part in their faithful execution—each specialising in its own sphere, co-operaing with the other in securing a common end but at the same time, each is, to a great extent, independent of the other. Both the parts are to-day directly or indirectly the servants of the people. The trend of evolution of the civil service has been aptly expressed as follows : —

"In one way or another, therefore, bureaucracies which comprise the modern public service have shifted their allegiance from monarchs, first to politicians and then to the State, for the common weal. In varying degrees the sense of responsibility to the considered opinion of the people as organised in the State has penetrated into and given power to the civil service itself, perhaps nowhere more fully than in Great Britain."[1]

Let us briefly survey in this connection the evolution of the Civil Service in U.S.A. and Canada which is not very dissimilar from that in England.

Canada.

The trend of development of civil service in Canada and U.S.A. has been more or less on the same lines. It has been one of slow transition from a "spoils system" to a "merit system." The dominion of Canada started with a civil service statute of 1857 of the Province of Canada, passed before the federation which embodied a system of qualifying examinations but partook more of the character of "spoils system" than a "merit system." The First Civil Service Act of the Federation passed in 1868 did not introduce any material changes. It replaced the board of examiners of twelve deputy-heads of departments by a Civil Service Board of fourteen deputy-heads. From time

[1] L. D. White, The Civil Service in the Modern State, Introduction, pp. xiii.

to time new Civil Service Acts were passed with a view to mitigating the evils of the system till in 1908 a new Act was passed on the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Civil Services appointed to make an exhaustive enquiry into the problem. The Act embodied three important provisions—(1) it established a Civil Service Commission, (2) it placed almost all appointments on a merit basis except only those of deputy heads and technical experts, (3) reclassified the services. The spoils system which had been rampant so long was put an end to, once for all, by the Act. The war and the deficiencies of the Act of 1908 precipitated another re-organisation Act of 1918-19, which forms the basis of the present Civil Service organisation in Canada. The Civil Service has been all but thoroughly purged of the evils of patronage.

Another feature of the Civil Service in Canada which deserves mention is the growth of civil service associations. Various organisations of Civil Servants have been formed for the purpose of representing the needs of individual services to the government, bettering the conditions of service and improving its morale. There is a tendency also for the particularistic associations to merge into a federal one.

U.S.A.

In U.S.A., the spoils system thrived for about a century unabashed and perhaps would have flourished for many more years but for the gruesome assassination of President Garfield at the hands of some disgruntled office-seeker which at once opened the eyes of the public to the vicious character of the system. The fathers of the constitution left the power of appointing to all important federal offices to the President subject to the advice and consent of the Senate. To leave the power in the hands of the Chief Magistrate of the nation who would presumably be the chosen man or the man acceptable to the generality of the people and at the same

time to provide a guarantee against the abuse of this authority by a despotically disposed executive head by associating with him the house of elders in the exercise of this very important duty was in their view the best conceivable plan of recruiting the public services. The fathers of the constitution did not favour, nor did they anticipate the growth of party system which to them smacked of the spirit of faction. Hence they could not foresee the development of spoils system or the vicious system of distribution of patronage to the supporters of the party organisation irrespective of considerations of merit and efficiency. But once parties were formed, they eventually became the motive force of American politics and this power of the President who owed his appointment to the nomination of the more dominant party was naturally laid under contribution to consolidate the position of the party in the country by buying up the influential sections of the population. The *bona fide* requirements of the service or the efficiency of national administration were completely lost sight of. In course of time, however, the system brought on its own nemesis. The attention of all right-thinking men was drawn to the inherent weakness of the system and its deplorable effects on the calibre of the Civil Services. So far back as 1853 legislation was passed purporting to improve the Civil Service of the federal government by instituting a system of examination for recruitment, but some time later the law became for all practical purposes a dead letter. In 1871 the Congress authorised the President to prescribe rules and regulations for admission to the civil service and to appoint suitable persons to ascertain the fitness of candidates in respect to age, health, character, etc. President Grant appointed a Civil Service Commission but it became defunct as the Congress refused the necessary appropriations. Then following on the tragedy referred to above was passed the Pendleton Act of 1883 which forms the basis of the present system of recruitment and organisation of the Civil Service. It has introduced the principle

of merit in place of that of favour as governing recruitment in respect of the majority of federal offices. A Civil Service Commission of three persons appointed by the President has been instituted to frame the necessary rules and regulations.

The Latest Phase of the Problem of Civil Service—Socialism and Syndicalism.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the people had rightly or wrongly great distrust for the government; they were too jealous of the encroachment by the government on their rights and liberties beyond what they thought to be the "indispensable minimum." The onus of proof as to this indispensability lay on the government in every particular case to be judged on its merits. This was mainly due to the autocratic powers of the monarchs or Emperors in the middle ages which created a confusion in men's minds as to the line of demarcation between state and government. With the advent of democracy as an active force in the eighteenth century this misconception was removed, the relation between state and government as that of principal and agent was understood but still the distrust of government, and a jealousy of extending its sphere died hard. It was kept alive particularly by the interested propaganda of the philosophy of "laissez faire" preached by the bourgeoise and capitalistic classes who found it a very handy doctrine for fully utilising the benefits of the industrial revolution by an unmitigated exploitation of the proletariat. But the forces of democracy proved too strong for them. With the enfranchisement of the masses there came a swing in the pendulum. There was a demand for public control and regulation of all activities that had a bearing on social welfare. As the ultimate voice was the voice of the people there was no fear of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy was simply to be a tool in the hands of the people for executing the people's will by implementing the policies formulated by their trusted representatives. The

bureaucracy was to be simply a machine or automaton having no initiative of its own, energised and motivated by the will of the people communicated through the government. The place of the government and the administrative hierarchy, or call it bureaucracy, in the state thus assigned, there was now nothing to be feared from an extension of the sphere of the state. New fields of human affairs were brought within the ambit of the state. This socialistic tendency owed its origin as much to the progress of democracy as to the bankruptcy of the philosophy of laissez faire. Laissez faire was tried and failed as a solvent of the manifold social problems and complexities that came into being in the wake of the Industrial Revolution. But state control or state management ultimately resolved itself into control, regulation or management by the administrative officials or bureaucracy and the problem arose how to give adequate powers to the bureaucracy to discharge its functions efficiently without at the same time inviting it to trample on the cherished rights and liberties of the people. A strict vigilance was to be kept that the community might not fly from the frying pan into the fire, might not invite the tyranny of the administrative officials in its attempt to escape from the tyranny of the wealthier and stronger section. All possible safeguards were devised by means of checks and balances so that the bureaucracy might *as far as practicable* be made dependent on the legislature or the executive made directly or indirectly responsible to the people so that there might not be left much elbow room to the Executive to exercise its own discretion in wielding the powers assigned to it. But with the expansion of governmental functions it was found increasingly difficult not to leave some discretionary authority in the administrative departments. Considerations of expediency forced a departure from the principle of regarding the administration as mere machine and vesting a large amount of quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial authority in the administrative departments in their respective jurisdictions. In England and U. S. A. extensive rule-making powers have been conferred on

particular departments by the legislature thus converting them into subordinate law-making bodies and in some cases they have been given the authority to determine the rights of property and person of individuals arising out of these rules with or without a right of appeal to the ordinary courts. This has been specially the case in connection with the administration of social welfare legislation such as factory acts, old age pension acts, immigration acts, etc. The administrative departments instead of remaining the inert part of the government are becoming the government itself, instead of simply executing the principles and policies laid down by the representatives of the people—are themselves creating to a great extent the principles which they are to administer. They are thus becoming the custodians of the rights and liberties of the people. A note of warning has already been sounded in England against the situation by the Lord Chief Justice Lord Hewart, in his work "The New Despotism." In drawing the attention of the British public to this growing autocracy of the departments and its dangerous implications, he has only voiced the feelings of a large section of thoughtful persons. How far his fears are justified or his picture is a correct representation of the situation it is very difficult to say, but the fact remains that there has been a perceptible departure from the orthodox Anglo-Saxon ideal of "rule of law" both in England and U. S. A. But this is the inevitable consequence of the changed conception of the functions of the state. Increasing functions of the state mean increasing pressure on the administration; now if the administration is to work at a high pressure and at the same time smoothly and expeditiously then some latitude must be left to it even if it be at the cost of a small departure from the strict principle of rule of law and consequent risk to individual liberty. This is the price to be paid for efficient administration of the affairs of individuals. But this latitude given to the administration must not go beyond what is unavoidable under the circumstances and the great problem is where to draw the line and say, "thus

far and no farther." The point itself must be a moving one in the dynamic world of the present day. It is sure to shift its position with the constant flux and change in men's ideas and ideals and with the growing complexities of the social structure. So far we have dealt only with the question how a changed conception of the functions of state has reacted on the position of the public services, but of late another force not quite unconnected with the one we have just discussed has come into play which is calculated to seriously affect the prevailing conceptions as to the position of the public service in modern political systems. It would be difficult to understand the problem of the public service without touching on this latest phase of its development. We mean the growth of a group-consciousness among the members of the public services and the infiltration of the syndicalist philosophy among them.

This is a movement parallel with that of trade unionism and is attributed to cognate causes. Large-scale operation of industries and concentration of a huge labour force in the factories brought about organisation of labourers for the amelioration of their economic condition and social and political status. Similarly the need of large-scale operation for the discharge of the growing functions of the state under a socialistic philosophy led to specialisation among state officials and organisation into groups which worked under similar conditions and had the same problems to face and similar needs and grievances to meet. The motivation to such organisation was in both cases originally economic but with the lapse of time and with the growth of an *esprit de corps* among them they demanded some voice in the administration of the services for which they were regarded so long only as tools and instruments. They repudiated this mechanical conception of the public service and demanded some share in the self-government along with all other sections of the community. They were not satisfied simply with the ordinary civic rights some of which, for instance, the right to franchise or to contest elections, they were denied on grounds

of administrative expediency but they went a step further and demanded a voice in the shaping of the policy which they were called upon to execute and also in deciding questions appertaining to the conditions of their employments and any disputes arising therefrom. Thus the French writer Leroy states the case :

"Free, officials will be responsible; responsible, they will be active, will reflect upon their work, to the profit of the public service.

Life, initiative in the public service cannot depend upon regulation by authority; of this bureaucratic red tape and hierarchical control have given us a full lesson.

The problem can be put only in the following terms : to find an organisation such that spontaneously and by inherent necessity, the services will operate with intelligence, competence, initiative and vivacity. To secure these ends, the field should be left free to liberty and technical capacity."[1]

Economic motive has been supplemented if not altogether supplanted by a sense of common good as the propelling force behind this new phase in the organisation of the public services in every country. They view themselves as organically connected with the rest of the body politic as an important member sharing alike in its prosperity and adversity and not merely a soulless machine requiring to be driven by motive power from without. In short they have been imbued with the ideals of 'service' for the community. The tendency has become almost universal although it has manifested itself in different forms in different countries in accordance with the nature and traditions of the service in each place. Thus in England we find the rise of Whitley Councils and the industrial court which originally established as agencies for conciliation and arbitration have been laid under contribution by the Civil Services for the higher ends

[1] Quoted in "Civil Service in Modern State" R. D. White, Introduction, pp. xvi.

of the public service. England is not solitary in this move. As Dr. R. D. White points out in the work already cited: "In Germany, in America, in Belgium, in Italy and in other countries as well as Great Britain and France, an organised Civil Service has emerged and is surveying the administrative machine of which it is a part. In one direction it seeks to develop its professional competence, through such devices as the academies in Germany, the Further Education Programme in England and the Institute of Public Administration; in another direction it seeks to improve its economic status and security of tenure by collective bargaining with its employer."..."In France, experimentation has been less marked in the last decade; in Germany, the works councils and civil service committees, the civil service academies and the attitude of the German Courts on the right of officials to strike deserve especial attention; in Italy, the Fascist organisation of the civil service displays a solicitude for the attitude of its members which is repeated in Germany, and which is characteristic of a new regime. Belgium has gone far in post-war years to unify her service regulations, and also has experimented with joint councils." Another important feature of this new development which may be noted in this connection is an attempt on the part of the organised civil service to increase its efficiency and to improve the technique of administration by a systematic study and research of administrative problems carried on, on comparative lines, through books and periodicals exclusively devoted to this subject and by the application of the principle of scientific management to the organisation of the public administration. At the same time they want a share in the benefits of such improvement in efficiency through such activities. This looks like a counterpart of the movement towards rationalisation in industries in the sphere of public administration. As time passes greater and greater co-ordination in such activities on the part of the civil services will take

place which may perhaps lead to a federation of the civil services of different lands on the lines of international trade union congress. What shape this new development will take in future it is difficult and rather hazardous to surmise but it may be said without fear of contradiction that the modern state is confronted with a force of infinite potentialities for both good and evil. If directed on sound lines it will bring a new orientation in the ideals of public service, purge the bureaucracy of all its vices and shortcomings and raise its standard of morality. On the other hand, if it is diverted from healthy channels it will add thousandfold to the existing defects of the bureaucratic system and perhaps usher in an era of a new despotism to fulfil the prophecy of the pessimists who have scented danger in the new tendency and already struck a note of warning. Let us hope that the modern state will prove equal to the task of facing the new situation and after some errors and excesses incidental to any new movement a happy adjustment will come about.

There is another aspect of the problem which requires a passing notice, if we are not to be blind to some significant developments in world politics of to-day. We have so far discussed the question on the assumption that the parliamentary system of government will be the prevailing type. But a cloud no bigger than the span of a hand has gathered in the political horizon of the world to-day which is rather ominous for the future of parliamentary government. Already it has given place to dictatorship in one form or another in more than one country in Europe. A trained civil service is an indispensable appanage to parliamentary government which is a government by amateurs at the top. If parliamentary government is permanently cast aside in these countries what shape the public services will take it is difficult to say. It all depends upon the turn events take in the future. All eyes are now naturally turned on Russia which has launched upon a gigantic political experiment. Russia has almost dispensed with a trained bureaucracy and taken to administration

JAINA-BUDDHIST INFLUENCE IN THE GĪTĀ

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his brilliant study of the history of Vaishnavism arrived at the conclusion that the *Bhagavadgītā* is pre-Buddhistic—a conclusion that has to be substantially modified by much light that has subsequently been thrown on the date of this important work. Sir S. Radhakrishnan has fully reviewed (*Indian Philosophy*, p. 514) the various theories on the problem and regards the work to have been composed between the fifth and third centuries B.C. Like many other celebrated works in Sanskrit the Gītā also has perhaps undergone revision in the hands of various redactors acting with different motives which accounts for its many self-contradictory statements and inconsistencies, and like the others it also originally consisted of a shorter and older kernel, as the Śāradā manuscript recently discussed by Schrader shows, on which the later structure has been raised.

It is the finished form we have it now rather than the old kernel that we are concerned with here. This form represents the intertwining of several chains of thought and it will be our endeavour to show that one of them is directed towards counteracting the influence of the Jainas and Buddhists. Let us analyse the relevant portions of the work and see what material they yield in support of our contention.

In the Second Chapter the first thirty-eight verses are designed to be a justification of fighting and killing by using arguments of philosophical reasoning and material benefit. In the Third Chapter as well as through the whole of the work, great prominence has been given to exhortation to action. Theism and the need of *bhakti* are also two leading notes of the Gītā. Now, the *ahiṃsā* cult of Jainism and Buddhism, their disparagement of engagement in worldly activities and their

atheistic character, stand in sharp contrast with these teachings of the Gītā, and we should remember that *ahiṃsā*, asceticism and atheism were some of the most prominent features of Mahāvīra and Buddha's message to contemporary society.

Then let us take three verses from the Third Chapter :

Na buddhibhedaṃ janayet ajñānāṃ karmasaṅginām
joṣayet sarvakarmāṇi vidvān yuktaḥ samācaran. (III. 26.)
Prakṛterguṇasammūḍhā sajjante guṇakarmasu
tānakṛtsnavido mandān kṛtsnaviṇ na vicālayet. (III. 29.)
Śreyān svadharmo viguṇaḥ paradharmāt svanuṣṭhitāt
svadharme nidhanaṃ śreyaḥ paradharmo bhayāvahaḥ.
(III. 35.)

The purport of these three verses is that ignorant people engaging in action should not be unsettled, but rather should a wise man engaging in proper action be a guide to the ignorant; people deluded into action by the *guṇas* of *prakṛti* should not be unsettled from this imperfect knowledge by those possessing perfect knowledge; and, one's own occupation, although faulty, is better than the faultless occupation of another (class). In the Eighteenth Chapter, verses 42-44 define the respective occupations of the four castes; verses 45 and 46 say that every man realises his end by engaging in his own occupation; verse 47 repeats III. 35 adding that one commits no sin by following the occupation ordained for him, and verse 48 says that as no action is without fault so one should not abandon the occupation he is born to. Now, it is to be remembered that the ascetical teachings of Mahāvīra and Buddha, if pushed to their logical end, would have the effect of unsettling society organised on the basis of caste-occupations, for Jainism and Buddhism being monastic religions devoted all their attention to and led a mass movement in favour of the fourth *āśrama*, *i.e.*, the ascetical life, by pointing out the uselessness of engaging in worldly pursuits and contrasting the calm and peace of an ascetic's life with the sorrows and sufferings of life as men and women of the world.

In the Fifth Chapter there are two significant utterances, *viz.*, *ihaiva tairjitaḥ svargo* (V. 19) and *śaknotīhaiva yaḥ soḍhum* which stress the possibility of enjoying the "kingdom of Heaven" even while on this earth (*ihaiva*), and it is well known what great pains Mahāvīra and Buddha took to shift the aim of religion from accumulation of merit with a view to enjoying their fruits in a future life to one designed to make the perfect life possible here on this earth and now in this life.

In V. 24-26 and VI. 15 the term *nirvāṇa* which was made special use of by the Jainas and Buddhists, has been employed to designate the state of supreme bliss and by qualifying it as *Brahma-nirvāṇa* a theistic character has been imparted to it meaning it to serve as an improvement upon the use made by the heretics.

Chapter VI opens with an allusion to anti-Vedic sects and ascetics and goes on to justify action—the reason obviously being to counteract the teaching of anti-Vedic aseetical heresies which upheld inaction. This chapter also emphasise the need of self-exertion. We have to bear in mind that in opposition to Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta's doctrine of pre-ordained Destiny Mahāvīra put the greatest stress on self-exertion as *the* means of obtaining salvation, and Buddha also was no less keen on the need of this virtue in one aiming at spiritual and moral progress.

In Chapter IX, verses 30-32, promise of deliverence has been held out to sinners, women, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. In the earlier Vedic literature we find that no independent ṣtaṭus was granted to women except as the *yajamāna's* wife ; the Brāhmaṇa literature, as Keith points out, adopted an attitude of extreme cynicism and contempt towards women, and the lower castes were debarred from participating in spiritual benefits. Mahāvīra on the other hand freely admitted women into his Order on absolutely equal terms with men. Inspite of his previous hesitations Buddha also admitted women to discipleship and in answer to Ananda's question said that women had the same chances of *nirvāṇa* as men. That the higher moral and spiritual life was not only for the

upper castes but for all was the special message of Mahāvīra and Buddha and both of them counted a large number of Vaiśyas, Sūdras and even outcasts amongst their following.

In Chapter XVII, verses 5 and 6, extreme asceticism has been condemned and in VI. 16-17 which enjoins moderate enjoyment of the comforts of life we have an echo of Buddha's Middle Path which, as he said in the Benares Sermon, lies between the two extremes of ascetical rigour and luxurious enjoyment.

Frequently does the Gītā attempt a reconcilement of ascetic calm with worldly activity, the glorification of God to whom devotion and surrender are necessary, and the harmonising of renunciation with action. For one familiar with the religious literature of India in the sixth century B.C. it is not difficult to find in these attempts of the Gītā a synthesis of earlier Brahmanical thought and its antitheses that the Jainas and Buddhists put into vogue.

A close study of the Gītā reveals that it had for its object the establishment of God who is transcendental as well as immanent, inscrutable, personal, absolute, almighty and merciful, to whom reverence and surrender is due ; the negation of the principle of inaction ; the retention of caste-organisation and caste-duties ; opposition against all and sundry entering the life of an ascetic ; holding forth an unruffled peaceful disposition unaffected by agreeable or disagreeable environments as the chief desideratum in life ; emphasising the need of right knowledge ; extolling the ascetic's independence and freedom from attachment ; raising the value of life on earth ; admitting women and low castes to the benefits of moral and spiritual life ; praising of exertion and manly energy ; condemnation of too rigorous asceticism ; and, performance of worldly duties in a spirit of selflessness. A study again of the literature of the Jainas and Buddhists shows that many of these are echoes of Mahāvīra and Buddha's teachings and where they are not so they are attempts at synthesis, or reconcilement with or opposition to a rival force. This rival force is Jainism and Buddhism. The Gītā has been called the

"milk of the Upaniṣad-cows" or, to put it more correctly, the source of a part of the work is the doctrines of the Upaniṣads. It is very doubtful, as Mrs. Rhys Davids has recently pointed out, if the view hitherto held of the priority of the Upaniṣads over Buddha's age is correct, for it is indeed surprising that there exists no evidence in Jaina and Buddhist literature to show that Mahāvīra and Buddha were familiar with the refined pantheism of the Upaniṣads. If the Upaniṣads are post-Buddhistic, as Mrs. Rhys Davids thinks they are, then the Gītā is still later. It seems to me that the Gītā is the Brahmanic reply to Jaina and Buddhist onslaught on contemporary thought. The work is based on the kernel of a devotional treatise on the cult of *bhakti* used by the sect of the Bhāgavatas, it draws material from the Upaniṣads and from an older philosophy of the Sāṅkhya school, it attempts to reconcile all conflicting views and offers in orthodox garb all that was fascinating and original in the teachings of the heretical Kṣatriya movements—all with the supreme end in view of preserving the integrity of Brahmanical society from the disruptive forces of heterodoxy which had appealed equally to the intelligentsia and the suppressed masses and threatened to undermine the stability of the social organisation of the age.

Ascetic calm and peace, freedom from attachment, etc., which are common between Buddhism and the Gītā are important no doubt in determining the relation between the two but more important are the dissimilarities. Why is the Gītā so emphatic in glorifying God? Why does it so strenuously oppose peoples' leaving their caste-occupations? Why is it nervous about the lower castes aping the higher life of the ascetic? Why does it so emphatically assert *śreyaḥ svadharmo viguṇah paradharmāt svanuṣṭhitāt, svadharme nidhanaṃ śreyaḥ parvdharmo bhayāvahaḥ*? Why does it again and again revert to the condemnation of inaction and persuade each to follow his occupation actively and thereby realise the supreme end? These raise a strong presumption that there must have been present in contemporary society tendencies towards atheism, breaking up of

FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON THE POETRY OF RABINDRANATH

Like Keats, the Indian poet Rabindranath has often been accused of his seeming indifference to the social aspect of human nature. It has often been urged, even by searching scholars, that his poetry revels simply in an exuberant play of fancy and is altogether out of touch with the vital issues that affect the vast multitude of his countrymen. Brought up in an atmosphere of luxury and extravagance, he has either studiously kept himself aloof from the burning problems of his day or has failed to descry from his empyrian height the dismal scenes of endless suffering that is sucking the life-blood of hungry millions. While, however, Keats has been pronounced guilty of an exceptional treatment of Nature, *viz.*, of interpreting natural phenomena so far as they appeal to man through his sense-organs only without reference to the spirit that transcends them, Rabindranath has been universally acclaimed as the high-priest of that mystic poetry which sees, in the heart of creation, the presence of an all-pervading principle which is God Himself. Like Keats, like Shelley, like every other great poet, Rabindranath has his adherents and adversaries also; while some extol him to the skies, others are loth to concede to him the right to be called even a poet. Seldom has a poet been more misunderstood before; seldom again has contemporary critical opinion oscillated between such opposite extremes. These, indeed, are the dangers of being great and Rabindranath cannot possibly escape them if his title to greatness is not unfounded.

Rabindranath has often been called the Shelley of Bengal. But is it due to any internal affinity in their conception of poetry? Perhaps not. Shelley, we know, was a social and political rebel, a red-hot radical who had not the slightest faith

in the established order of things and who wished, therefore, to build, like Plato, an ideal Republic over the debris of old. His militant attitude was dead set against any half-way compromise. But what is Rabindranath? He emphatically repudiates no doubt the sham conventions and hoary superstitions that sit ill upon the present age and shackle our advancement at every step, but, on the other hand, he cherishes the profoundest regard for our ancient rites and institutions and is perfectly persuaded that the degeneration of India is due to our ignorance of this age-long tradition and indiscriminate importation of exotic elements in its stead. Herein lies the fundamental distinction between Shelley and Rabindranath. While the English poet is athirst for wholesale transformation, whether in state, society or religion, the Indian bard possesses an equable temperament and a tolerant wisdom and candidly professes that the salvation of his mother-land will result not from any racial aloofness or indiscreet rejection of what already exists but from a cultural co-ordination of notions, both of the East and the West. And this belief has clearly mirrored itself in all his utterances. This spirit of co-ordination, be it said, this idea of moulding divergent elements into a synthetic whole, has been the guiding principle of the Aryan civilization throughout its onflow for scores of centuries and Rabindranath in holding a kindred opinion has but seized upon the salvage out of the wreck of this leviathan. In his essay entitled 'ভারতবর্ষের ইতিহাস' or *The History of India* and also in that famous lyric in *Song-offerings* this idea has been transfigured with the glowing insight of an inspired prophet.[1]

[1] (১) গীতাঞ্জলি :—

হে মোর চিত্ত পুণ্যতীর্থে এস হে ধীরে
এই ভারতের মহামানবের সাগর-তীরে !
হেথায় দাঁড়ায়ে দুবাহু বাড়ায়ে নমি নর-দেবতারে
উদার ছন্দে পরমানন্দে বন্দন করি তাঁরে।

From the extracts quoted in the footnote, it will be patent even to a casual observer that the charge of aristocratic aloofness so often laid at his door is not the least called for. Like every other great soul, he has viewed the heat and dust of our daily strife with unbounded sympathy and has devoted much of his time and energy to ferreting out the cause of this dire calamity, suggesting practical solutions wherever possible. What does it matter if, being a rich man himself, he has not had the opportunity to partake of the bitters of life himself? It is not necessary for a poet to be a philanthropist as well. It is idle to enquire whether a poet who has touched the inmost chord of the

ধ্যান-গম্ভীর এই যে ভূধর,
নদীজপমালা ধৃত প্রান্তর,
হেথায় নিত্য হের পবিত্র ধরিত্রীরে।
হেথায় আর্য্য, হেথা অনার্য্য, হেথায় দ্রাবিড় চীন,
শক-হুনদল পাঠান মোগল এক দেহে হোলো লীন।
পশ্চিমে আজ খুলিয়াছে দ্বার,
সেথা হ'তে সবে আনে উপহার,
দিবে আর নিবে, মিলাবে মিলিবে, যাবে না ফিরে,
এই ভারতের মহামানবের সাগর-তীরে॥

(২) ভারতবর্ষের ইতিহাস :—

ভারতবর্ষের প্রধান সার্থকতা কি, একথার স্পষ্ট উত্তর যদি কেহ জিজ্ঞাসা করেন, সে উত্তর আছে, ভারতবর্ষের ইতিহাস সেই উত্তরকেই সমর্থন করিবে। ভারতবর্ষের চিরদিনই একমাত্র চেষ্টা দেখিতেছি, প্রভেদের মধ্যে ঐক্য স্থাপন করা, নানা পথকে একই লক্ষ্যের অভিমুখীন করিয়া দেওয়া এবং বহুর মধ্যে এককে নিঃসংশয়রূপে অন্তরতররূপে উপলব্ধি করা,—বাহিরে যে সকল পার্থক্য প্রতীয়মান হয়, তাহাকে নষ্ট না করিয়া তাহার ভিতরকার নিগূঢ় যোগকে অধিকার করা। * * * ভারতবর্ষ অসঙ্কোচে অন্যের মধ্যে প্রবেশ করিয়াছে এবং অনায়াসে অন্যের সামগ্রী নিজের করিয়া লইয়াছে। ভারত, পুলিন্দ, শবর, ব্যাধ প্রভৃতিদের নিকট হইতেও বীভৎস সামগ্রী গ্রহণ করিয়া তাহার মধ্যে নিজের ভাব বিস্তার করিয়াছে—তাহার মধ্য দিয়াও নিজের আধ্যাত্মিকতাকে অভিব্যক্ত করিয়াছে। ভারতবর্ষ কিছুই ত্যাগ করে নাই এবং গ্রহণ করিয়া সকলই আপনার করিয়াছে।

human heart and made it quiver to the tune of his '*celestial fire*,' has considered it his duty also to redound to the material well-being of his country. It is none of a poet's business to intermeddle in the actual struggle; enough if he visualises in sympathy the inconceivable emptiness to which so many of his ill-fated brethren have been dragged in consequence not only of abject physical wants but of moral and spiritual inanition as well. This spontaneous sympathy for the oppressed humanity, this overflowing kindness towards people who, for sheer ignorance, are hardly conscious of the magnitude of their misfortune, is what impinges on his poetry, informed with the suggestive sublimity of a prophecy.

It is the province of thought and emotions that mainly concerns a poet ; it is his singular privilege to kindle the finer susceptibilities that lie dormant in every human heart. The success of a poet ought, therefore, to be judged not by the measure of success attained by him in the field of humane activities but by the light he has been able to throw on the mysterious regions of speculation and thought. If we glance through the vista of years, we come across such eminent names in world's literature as Plato, Aristotle, Goethe, Dante and Shakespeare, who, when judged by the tangible results obtained by them in the domain of human welfare, must rank far below the place they now occupy. As Rabindranath himself has said, "Those that are leaders of men...are stalwarts in the field of humanitarian activities, deserve indeed the homage of their countrymen.* * *But the fate of a poet is less fortunate. The poet deals with the heart of man and deems himself amply rewarded if his poetry has succeeded in eliciting applause from a few responsive souls. But strange is this human heart. It is clouded in some places and is bright and sunny in others. Since it is the inner satisfaction of his readers to which alone the poet can lay claim, it is preposterous to expect universal recognition. Those who are born with the exclusive mission of contributing to the weal of mankind may, of course, reckon upon universal

homage." The remark is contrived to bring home to us the cardinal difference between a man of action and a man of letters. While the one is directly concerned with the life of man and takes upon himself the task of satisfying the physical cravings of the suffering humanity, the poet who is the foster-child of fancy caters for their moral and intellectual appetite by his ethereal music and inspiring message. This does not mean that a poet can never be a man of action or a man of action a poet; on the other hand, instances are not rare where a beautiful blending of the two has actually taken place.

Shelley professed to have no faith in the existence of God and in his younger days at Oxford published a pamphlet on atheism. Yet inspite of all his professions, the volume of his poetry itself remains to indicate the needle-point moving in an opposite direction. None can deny that his transcendental fervour is more obvious in his poetry than his so-called atheism, and it is hardly possible to go through his immortal 'Epipsychidion' without noticing the deep-rooted religious conviction that permeates almost every line of it. This long poem is interwoven with splendid passages that are reminiscent of the spiritual ecstacy which the poet must have experienced at the time of its composition. In this respect, of course, can a kinship be traced between Shelley and Rabindranath ? Though otherwise an ardent admirer of Shelley, Keats seems to have totally outlived the influence of his senior in so far as he had taken to a simpler and more direct way of poetic expression. As Compton Ricket has observed, "Keats had no religion save the religion of beauty—the earth was his great consoler and so passionately did he love her that no other consideration impinges on his work." Still it would be unfair if we take this remark too literally and persuade ourselves to believe that nowhere in Keats' poetry is there any suggestion of the life immortal. Take, for example, his famous 'Ode on a Grecian Urn,' which caught the fancy of Rabindranath so much and the swaying stanza-forms of which he so splendidly made use in his

non-pareil 'Urbashi'; what does the poet want to impress when he pens such lines as these :—

"She cannot fade, though thou hast not thy bliss,
For ever wilt thou love and she be fair."

The permanence of an artistic creation is the theme of this poem and this the author forces upon our minds by means of his usual array of telling imageries. Human life and happiness, says Keats, may indeed be transient, yet Art may instil into them an ideal beauty which is sure to baffle the 'tyrannic claims' of time.

It will be our endeavour to confine ourselves in the present discourse to appraising the artistic value of Rabindranath's poetry, bringing to bear upon it the extraneous influences that played so prominent a part in the evolution of his mind. Rabindranath's verses are essentially optimistic. Even in the midst of the deepest despair he does not for a moment lose faith in the potential goodness of things. There may be occasional failure in our endeavours, there may be temporary inertia "benighting mind's internal heaven" and dooming it to dull sloth and avarice, but out of all this chaos and confusion will surely evolve a brighter future pregnant with infinite possibilities. An under-current of deep-seated conviction lends to his poetry a peculiar strength such as is seldom discerned in the works of other poets. He does not believe in negative virtues and criticises the life of renunciation as circumventing the basic principles of mundane existence.

গীতাঞ্জলি :—

বিশ্বসাথে যোগে যেথায় বিহারো
সেইখানে যোগ তোমার সাথে আমারো।
নয়ক বনে নয় বিজনে, নয়ক আমার আপন মনে,
সবার যেথায় আপন তুমি, হে প্রিয়!

ভেবেছিলাম বিজনছায়ায় নাই যেখানে আনাগোনা
সন্ধ্যাবেলায় তোমায় আমায় হবে সেথায় জানাশোনা।
অন্ধকারে একা একা সে দেখা যে স্বপ্ন দেখা,
ডাকো তোমার হাটের মাঝে চল্‌ছে যেথায় বেচাকেনা!

Naivedya :—

"Deliverance is not for me in renunciation. I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight. * * * No, I will never shut the doors of my senses. The delights of sight and hearing and touch will bear thy delight."

His is not the doctrine of introspective speculation in a secluded niche away from the roar and rush of surging humanity and he never tires of preaching the gospel of energism and hope. In his courage of conviction and robust optimism he resembles Browning more than any other English poet. But if we make an historical study of the growth of his mind, we can see that the feeling of patriotism—later developed into universal love—or his spiritual fervour was not noticeable from the very inception. In his younger days we find him occupying himself with themes that appealed to his aesthetic emotion only, drawing ponderous pictures of imagination with the incessant movement of his brush. They are beautiful pictures, no doubt, but no finished art and shew too clearly the tool-mark of the craftsman. His juvenile verses may, therefore, be fitly compared to the song-effusion of a musician, untrained but possessing a naturally sweet voice or to the murmuring march of a brook which sings and dances out of the fullness of its heart. Occasionally, of course, do we meet with such literary gems as "নির্ঝরের স্বপ্নভঙ্গ" or "প্রভাত-উৎসব" but they are few and far between. The poet seems to live in an ethereal realm, fondly dallying with his fancy and dealing with "such stuff as dreams are made of." He does not care for anything more substantial.

This mood of 'frenzy' over Rabindranath suddenly emerged from his fancy-land and breathed heartily the spirit of political unrest which was sweeping through the length and breadth of Bengal. The year 1308 B. S., the year of his assuming the editorship of "Bangadarsan" and undertaking the composition of "Naibedya" poems may, therefore, be said to have heralded the first great break in his poetical career. "This period," says Thompson, "was the time of mightiest prose (meaning perhaps his 'বিজয়া' and other articles of the time) whose periods march and burn," to which we may add—"and of magnificent poetry which took the whole people by storm." This period, again, be it said, was the period of some of the most vigorous of his utterances in poetry—utterances that can easily match with the very best in any literature. But his poetic temperament was never content with any detached view of things—the spacious world which held him in thrall for ever was constantly beckoning him away from his comparatively meagre sphere of activity—a voice from afar was greeting him into a world that has no limits. Rightly has Ajit Babu remarked, "As soon as the full tune has sounded on his lyre the strings have snapped and he has become anxious to sound new notes on new strings."

In fact, during his rather long and chequered poetic career, extending over more than half a century, Rabindranath has shifted from phase to phase and in the course of his astonishingly extensive and motley study of literature, both Indian and European, he has imbibed, though imperceptibly, the breathing spirit of one poet or another whose distinct artistic motif has left an indelible impress upon his receptive mind. In his younger years, when he was hurriedly marching through the long range of English poetry—particularly the poetry of the Romantic Revival and of the later pre-Raphaelites,—he seems to have been profoundly influenced by poets like Keats, Shelley, Wordsworth, Browning, Swinburne, to mention only a few from the whole host of other conspicuous names, who combined to infuse into his earlier poetry that subtle and peculiar

leaven. It need hardly be specified here that this was essentially his school-time when he voraciously took in whatever fancy-food he chanced upon, assimilating it to his purpose and transfiguring it into a superb verse-manifestation the like of which has seldom been discerned. This was a time when he was not sufficiently introduced to a knowledge of the Upanisads —the springhead of his inspiration in later life, being sensitive only to aesthetic impressions and surveying the world as a spectator from a safe distance, caring little for the complex skein which our earthly life represents. Again, it was just about the time when a young man's passions naturally circle round the meretricious glamours of life and refuse to lend ear to the whispering murmur of the inner man. Evidently, therefore the poetry of his primal years is tinged with an aggressively sensuous colouring and is totally divorced from higher philosophical conceits which translate his later poetry into a plane such as only seers and prophets can attain. But what seems strange in the case of Rabindranath is that the direct influence of no particular author is perceptible in him. His poetry echoes neither Keats nor Shelley nor Swinburne nor anybody else in particular, but vibrates with a harmony that is born of the united voice of all. For instance in that exquisite love-lyric of his—'Urbashi'—we sometimes come across lines that are directly reminiscent of Keats, as also stanzas that instantly remind us of the long-drawn lines of Swinburne wherein he describes Aphrodite, the ancient goddess of love, who also like Urbashi of Indian mythology, "came flushed from the full-flushed wave." Let us here quote a few lines from Swinburne to shew how striking is this similarity :—

"A perilous goddess was born;
And the waves of the sea as she came
Clove, and the foam at her feet,
Fawning, rejoiced to bring forth
A fleshly blossom, a flame
Filling the heavens with heat
To the cold white ends of the north."

"White rose of the white water, a silver splendour, a flame
Bent down us that besought her and earth grew sweet with her name.
For thine came weeping, a slave among slaves, and rejected but she
Came flushed from the full-flushed wave and imperial her foot on the sea
And the wonderful waters knew her, the wind and the viewless ways
And the roses grew rosier and bluer the sea-blue stream of the bays."

উর্ব্বশী :—

আদিম বসন্ত প্রাতে উঠেছিলে মন্থিত সাগরে
ডান হাতে সুধাপাত্র বিষভাণ্ড লয়ে বাম করে,
তরঙ্গিত মহাসিন্ধু মন্ত্রশান্ত ভুজঙ্গের মত
পড়েছিল পদপ্রান্তে উচ্ছ্বসিত ফণা লক্ষ শত
করি অবনত;
কুন্দ শুভ্র, নগ্নকান্তি, সুরেন্দ্র বন্দিতা
তুমি অনিন্দিতা!

Nor can we miss the resemblance of the sound-effect produced by the two. Indeed, the affinity is too great to be the result of a mere accident. Then again the influence of Shelley reveals itself not the less in some of the shorter lyrical pieces. If we read Rabindranath's *Barshasesh* or *The End of the Year* and Shelley's '*Ode to West Wind*,' one after the other, we cannot but be convinced that the Indian poet must have drunk deep of the spirit and vigour of the famous English ode, both in points of idea and metre. Both the poems, artistically superb as they are, have an intellectual and human interest underlying them. They both proclaim the advent of a phenomenal spirit that will purge the earth of its old, worthless and decomposed materials and make its dynamic power felt in every sphere of human activity. The rising autumnal storm carrying with it its freight of dead leaves—"this beneficent destroyer" that scatters the black, scarlet and yellow leaves far and wide, may fitly compare with ঈশানের পুঞ্জমেঘ or the clustering clouds of the north-east in 'Barshasesh' or 'The End of the Year' which brings in its

train a mighty gust of wind and ruthlessly blows away withered leaves, thereby ushering in an era redolent of nothing but the freshness and impetuosity of youth. We call upon our readers to compare the following extracts from Shelley and Rabindranath :—

" O wild West Wind, thou breath of autumn's being,
Thou from whose unseen presence the leaves dead
Are driven, like ghosts from an enchanter fleeing,
Yellow and black and pale and hectic red,
Pestilence-stricken multitude."

বর্ষশেষ :—

গাও গান প্রাণভরা ঝড়ের মতন ঊর্দ্ধবেগে
অনন্ত আকাশে।
উড়ে যাক্, দূরে যাক্, বিবর্ণ, বিশীর্ণ, জীর্ণ পাতা
বিপুল নিঃশ্বাসে!

Then again, Shelley's cult of love is just parallel to Rabindranath's *Jivan-Devata* creed. Just as love with Shelley is nothing but a transcendental force kindling all things into beauty, so is Rabindranath's 'Jivan-Devata' an indefinable force which moves to inspiration the poet's soul, shaping and beautifying it throughout its career. It is something latent in his very being which makes the hushed voice of his heart articulate and quiver to the tune of its irresistible spell. The poet explains Jivan-Devata in the following stanzas of 'Antarjami' :—

নূতন ছন্দ অন্ধের প্রায়, ভরা আনন্দে ছুটে চলে যায়
নূতন বেদনা উঠে বেজে তায় নূতন রাগিণী ভরে।
যে কথা ভাবিনি বলি সেই কথা, যে ব্যথা বুঝি না জাগে সেই ব্যথা,
জানিনা এসেছি কাহার বারতা কারে শুনাবার তরে!
কে কেমন বোঝে অর্থ তাহার, কেহ এক বলে কেহ বলে আর
আমারে শুধায় বৃথা বারবার দেখে তুমি হাস বুঝি
কে গো কোথা তুমি রয়েছ গোপনে আমি বৃথা মরি খুঁজি!

Compare with it the following lines from Shelley's "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty":—

"The awful shadow of some unseen power—
Spirit of Beauty, that dost consecrate
With thine own hue all thou dost shine upon
Of human thought or form,—where art thou gone?
Why dost thou pass away and leave our state,
This dim vast, vale of tears vacant and desolate?"

To try, therefore, to bring out the points of resemblance as well as difference in these poets will, it is hoped, amply repay the pains taken.

"Shelley," says Stopford Brooke, "lived in two worlds, thought in two worlds and in both of these did work which was at once varied and distinct. One was the world of mankind and its hopes, the other was the world of his own heart." He passed from poetry written for the sake of mankind to poetry written obviously for the expression of his inner self—from didactic pieces designed to regenerate the depressed humanity, to verses which evolved spontaneously out of the fulness of his heart. Similarly Rabindranath has also passed from phase to phase during his long spell of poetic enterprise. His poetry has waxed eloquently patriotic at times and at others, has either submerged into an expression of the supreme joy of tranquility as in Gitanjali-poems or has overflown with the vociferous effusion of baser passions such as we meet with in his earlier lyrical pieces of '*Manasi*.' This point has been elaborately treated of elsewhere in this essay, so we need hardly dilate on it at this stage. Instances might be multiplied. I would ask my readers to carefully go through the whole body of Rabindranath's verse and I am sure they will perceive in his poetry all the principal traits of the Romantic as well as the pre-Raphaelite school—*viz.*, (1) their spiritual, intellectual and sensuous treatment of Nature (as represented by Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats respectively), (2) their intellectual curiosity and application of scientific truths to

literature (as in Tennyson), (3) their deep-seated animus against the conventions and prejudices of every description (as in Shelley or Swinburne) though in the case of the latter it does not consist in the rejection of anything simply on the score of its antiquity, (4) and lastly their instinct for the elemental simplicities of life. It is not that Rabindranath blindly aped the English bards but that he unified the principles that appealed to him in his own way ; he culled the choicest blossoms from the bowers of his favourite poets and wove them into an incomparable wreath with the string of his own imagination.

The instinct for the primal simplicities referred to above, is one of the principal characteristics of the Romantic Revival and as such requires some attention. In Europe, it was Rousseau who pioneered the movement and he it was who emphasised the socialistic ideal, the dignity of man as man. Again, the idea of love as the moulding factor in human life which we so often find in Shelley has its genesis in the cult of transcendent love, of which, again, Rousseau is the chief exponent. The complexities of civilisation, the morbid mechanical life of the modern cities palled upon the fine sensibilities of these poets and they professed the doctrine of 'Return to Nature' as the only means of raclaiming this growing tendency of the times and rescuing the elemental verities of life. The same spirit of discontent towards the conventional life of the present age finds a unique expression in several of Rabindranath's minor poems, specially in his well-known lyric entitled 'বধূ,' in which the doleful tale of a simple and unsophisticated rural girl, transplanted to the stifling environment of a congested city, is described with a telling pathos. Says the girl :—

হায়রে রাজধানী পাষাণকায়া !
বিরাট মুঠিতলে চাপিছে দৃঢ়বলে
ব্যাকুল বালিকারে নাহিক মায়া!
কোথা সে খোলা মাঠ, উদার পথঘাট
পাখীর গান কই? বনের ছায়া?

কে যেন চারিদিকে দাঁড়িয়ে আছে;
খুলিতে নারি মন শুনিবে পাছে।
হেথায় বৃথা কাঁদা, দেয়ালে পেয়ে বাধা
কাঁদন ফিরে আসে আপন কাছে!

* * *

কোথায় আছ তুমি কোথায় মাগো!
কেমনে ভুলে তুই আছিস্ হাঁ গো!

The idea contained in the above extract may very aptly be likened to the following lines of Wordsworth :—

" 'Tis a note of enchantment; what ails her? She sees
A mountain ascending, a vision of trees ;
Bright volumes of vapour through Lothbury glide,
And a river flows on through the vale of Cheapside.

Green pasture she views in the midst of the dale.
Down which she so often has tripped with her pail;
And a single small cottage, a nest like a dove's.
The one only dwelling on earth that she loves."

The Reverie of Poor Susan.

The same idea, again, finds the most apposite expression in Wordsworth's "Lines written in early Spring" as also in his sonnet beginning with " The world is too much with us ;" where the poet feels sorely obsessed by and bemoans man's colossal indifference to Nature.

This passionate yearning for the open air and the freedom of the fields, it may be pointed out, is no less characteristic of Keats who, in his sonnet entitled " To One who has been long in City pent." expresses with remarkable fidelity the feeling of felicity in escape from the sordid atmosphere of bricks and mortar, chimneys and smoke.

This is no poetic pose or fleeting caprice, as some might be inclined to suppose, but the genuine conviction of one who, having grown sick of the unusually inflated life of a city, preferred to pass his quiet days at Bolpur in the very bosom of Nature.

In this connexion, attention may be drawn to Rabindranath's invective against the irreconcilable social life of Bengal wherein there is a queer commingling of subtle sentiments and conventional custom—life which is content merely to imagine and almost never really to achieve—(*vide* poems in *'Kautuk'*), is much in the same strain as that of Shelley himself who levels his caustic sarcasm against the factitious city-life of the English people in his famous poem "Peter Bell the Third."

Instances from these two works quoted at random are enough to shew that, so far as the pungency of the invective and flippancy of the style are concerned, the two poets are very much alike :—

Peter Bell the Third, Part the Third :—

"Hell is a city very much like London—
A populous and a smoky city ;
There are all sorts of people undone,
There is a little or no fun done,
Small justice shewn and still less pity.
* * * * *
Taxes too on wine and bread,
And meat and beer and tea and cheese,
From which these patriots fine are fed.
* * * * *
Statesmen damn themselves to be
Cursed ; and lawyers damn their souls
To the auction of a fee ;
Churchmen damn themselves to see
God's sweet love in burning coals.

কৌতুক : উন্নতিলক্ষণ :—

লোকটি কে ইনি যেন চিনি চিনি,
বাঙালী মুখের ছন্দ,
ধরণে ধারণে অতি অকারণে
ইংরাজি তরো গন্ধ !

কালিয়া বরণ অঙ্গে পরণ
কালো হ্যাট, কালো কুর্ত্তি,
যদি নিজ দেশী কাছে আসে ঘেঁসি'
কিছু যেন কড়া মূর্ত্তি।
ধূতিপরা দেহ দেখা দিলে কেহ
অতিশয় লাগে লজ্জা,
বাংলা আলাপে রোষে সন্তাপে
জ্বলে ওঠে হাড় মজ্জা!
ইঁহারা কি শেষ ছাড়িবেন দেশ
এঁরা কি ভারত দ্বেষ্টা?
এঁদের কি তবে দলে দলে সবে
বিজাতি হ'বার চেষ্টা?
(উত্তর) এঁরা সবে বীর এঁরা স্বদেশীর
প্রতিনিধি বলে' গণ্য;
কোট পরা কায় সঁপেছেন হায়
শুধু স্বজাতির জন্য!
অনুরাগভরে ঘুচাবার তরে
বঙ্গভূমির দুঃখ
এ সভা মহতী; এর সভাপতি,
সভ্যেরা দেশ মুখ্য!

Indeed, Rabindranath never tires of vindicating his rightful indignation at our predilection for this unnatural and overwrought life; and the conflict of Science and Art, of Machine and Nature, has invariably been the theme of his later symbolic plays. It would be idle to suppose, however, that for this hankering after the primal simplicities of life and consequent abhorrence for the exuberant exultation in the achievements of Science, he was, in any way, indebted to the European masters. On the contrary, he inherited this noble idea from the time-honoured legacy our Indian apostles have bequeathed to the posterity of all ages. From this fondness for simplicity emanates the new attitude

towards Nature—Nature serving not as a background to human feelings and emotions but as a vital but tranquillising force which responds to the varying moods of man.[1]

The element of mysticism had its origin in the unstinted admiration for medieval life in the case of Romantic poets, and its effect on natural phenomena was of course responsible for the difference in the treatment of Nature-poetry. Tagore, in his early youth, was assuredly an ardent admirer of Keats and Swinburne and he never hesitated to give utterance to his sensuous sentiment towards Nature in such poems as 'Bijayini' 'Manassundari' (to quote only two) which savour of a voluptuous abandonment to her (Nature's) magic. But his attitude towards Nature changes with his growing years not as a sequel to his acquaintance with Wordsworth who found 'a brooding and tranquillising thought at the heart of Nature or with Shelley who found an ardent and persuasive love' but as the result of his intensive appreciation of the Upanishads and the great Vaishnava masters who perceived even in the infiinitesimal atoms, the spirit of an omnipresent entity which binds man and Nature together.[2] This transcendental way of viewing Nature is pre-eminently Indian and Rabindranath drew upon this never-ending source much to his own advantage. The poet no longer stands out from Nature but completely identifies himself with and sinks into her life. Let me reproduce here a few significant lines from a beautiful poem in 'Balaka' named 'Chhabi' or *The Picture* and from

[1] Says Rabindranath in his essay on 'The Modern Age,' "Upon the loss of this sense of a universal personality which is religion, the reign of machine and of method has been firmly established, and man, humanly speaking, has been made a homeless tramp. * * * The prevalence of the theory which realises the power of the machine in the universe, and organises men into machines, is like the eruption of Etna, tremendous in its force, in its outburst of fire and fume, but its creeping lava covers up human shelters made by the ages, and its ashes smother them."

[2] C. F. Blake's

"To see a world in a grain of sand
And a heaven in a wild flower,
Hold infinity in the palm of your hand
And eternity in an hour."

'Prabasi' in 'Utsarga' which will clearly illustrate how entirely does the poet affiliate himself with Nature.

ছবি :—

মরি মরি সে আনন্দ থেমে যেত যদি
এই নদী
হারাত তরঙ্গ বেগ
এই মেঘ
মুছিয়া ফেলিত তার সোণার লিখন !
অন্য মনে চলি পথে ভুলিনে কি ফুল ?
ভুলিনে কি তারা
তবুও তাহারা
প্রাণের নিঃশ্বাস বায়ু করে সুমধুর,
ভুলে শূন্যতামাঝে ভরি দেয় সুর !

উৎসর্গ :—

তৃণে পুলকিত যে মাটির ধরা
লুটায় আমার সামনে
সে আমায় ডাকে এমন করিয়া
কেন যে কব তা কেমনে ?
মনে হয় যেন সে ধূলির তলে,
যুগে যুগে আমি ছিনু তৃণে জলে,
সে দুয়ার খুলি কবে কোন ছলে
বাহির হয়েছি ভ্রমণে !
যদি চিনি যদি জানিবারে পাই
ধূলারেও মানি আপনা,
ছোট বড় হীন সবার মাঝারে
করি চিত্তের স্থাপনা।
হই যদি মাটি, হই যদি জল,
হই যদি তৃণ হই ফুল ফল,
জীব সাথে যদি ফিরি ধরাতল
কিছুতেই নাহি ভাবনা !

যেথা যাব সেথা অসীম বাঁধন
অন্তবিহীন আপনা।
বিশাল বিশ্বে চারিদিক হ'তে
প্রতি কণা মোরে টানিছে।
আমার দুয়ারে নিখিল জগৎ
শতকোটি কর হানিছে॥

The next poet we have to reckon with is George Macdonald (1824 -1905), one of the lesser stars of the later Victorian era, who was manifestly Celtic in his inspiration and was the author few delightful lyrics, Blake-like in their fresh simplicity. of a His "Where do you come from, Baby dear ?" reminds us at once of Rabindranath's.

"Where have I come from, where did you pick me up ?," the baby asked its mother.

For the inspiration in 'Sisu' or 'The Child,' I have a strong suspicion that Tagore is indebted to Blake who has pictured the simple inquisitiveness of childhood in his "Songs of Innocence and Experience" much in the same strain as Rabindranath. The following quotations, one from Blake and another from Rabindranath, will read almost alike :

Blake :—

"But to go to school in a summer morn,
O, it drives all joy away ;
Under a cruel eye outworn,
The little ones spend the day
In sighing and dismay."

Rabindranath :—

আজকে আমি লুকিয়েছি, মা, পুথিপত্তর যত,—
পড়ার কথা আজ বোলো না! যখন বাবার মত
বড় হ'ব, তখন আমি পড়্ব প্রথম পাঠ ;
আজ বল্, মা, কোথায় আছে তেপান্তরের মাঠ!

It may not be wide of the mark if we point out, in this connexion, that there are lines in 'হতভাগ্যের গান' which seem to be cast on the model of certain lines in Thomas Gray's

'Hymn to Adversity.' The illustrations given below will, it is hoped, be of considerable interest to the readers :—

Hymn to Adversity :—

" Scared at thy frown terrific, fly
Self-pleasing Folly's idle brood
Wild Laughter, Noise, thoughtless Joy
And leave us leisure to be good,
Light they disperse, and with them go
The summer friend, the flattering foe."

হতভাগ্যের গান :—

লুকোক্ তোমার ডঙ্কা শুনে
কপট সখার শূন্য হাসি।
পালাক্ ছুটে পুচ্ছ তুলে
মিথ্যে চাটু মক্কা কাশী॥

The influence of Browning, however, came as he entered upon maturity. It is marked in the psychological interest of many poems in 'Manasi.' In 'Ananta Prem' or 'Love Eternal' the mystic aspect of passion is suggested with a tenderness and subtility that is quite characteristic of Browning. In his 'Evelyn Hope,' or more particularly in 'Two in the Campagna,' the same mystic air prevails and as regards sheer sentiment there is seldom any divergence between these poems of Browning and Rabindranath's (Ananta Prem).

Two in the Campagna :—

" I wonder do you feel today
As I have felt since hand in hand
We sat down on the grass, to stray
In spirit better through the land,
This morn of Rome and May ?
For me, I touched a thought, I know
Has tantalised me many times,
(Like turns of thread the spiders throw
Mocking across our path) for rhymes
To catch and let go.
..... Only I discern.

Infinite passion and the pain
Of finite hearts that yearn."[1]

Moreover, his short dramatic dialogues of the late nineties., *viz.*, "গান্ধারীর প্রার্থনা," "কর্ণকুন্তী" are nothing more than an adaptation of Browning's dramatic monologues so far as the form is concerned. It is likely also that the manner of presentation resorted to in 'The Home and Abroad' is the outcome of Rabindranath's partiality for the scheme of telling the same story through different minds as evinced in Browning's 'The Ring and the Book' which, as Lafcadio Hearn points out, is nothing but a gigantic collection of monologues, grouped and ordered so as to produce one great dramatic effect.

I must now bring this study to a close after saying a few words about influences other than English on one of the most famous of Tagore's plays, I mean of course, 'Phalguni.' The main current of its plot and the denouèment thereof, the revelry of Spring, the chasing of the old man Winter to the darksome cave of a mountain put us in mind of the episode of the 'News of Spring' in the "The Double Garden" of Maeterlinck and have an exact facsimile in the 'the feast of roses and anemones, of soft air and dew, of bees and birds' and in 'the looking for Winter and the print of its footsteps.' The type of people represented in the character of দাদা to whom soul's joy is nothing short of a ridiculous excess, may be aptly compared with 'the ragged old people too wise to enjoy unforeseen pleasures.' Then again the romping and merry-making of youth during the carnival of Spring has too close a parallel in Maeterlinck's 'running round the

* অনন্ত প্রেম :—

যত শুনি সেই অতীত কাহিনী
প্রাচীন প্রেমের ব্যথা,
স্মৃতি পুরাতন বিরহ-মিলন কথা
অসীম অতীতে চাহিতে চাহিতে
দেখা দেয় অবশেষে
কালের তিমির-রজনী ভেদিয়া
তোমারি মূরতি এসে।
চিরস্মৃতিময়ী ধ্রুবতারকার বেশে!

আমরা দুজনে ভাসিয়া এসেছি
যুগল প্রেমের স্রোতে,
অনাদি কালের হৃদয়-উৎস হ'তে।
আমরা দুজনে করিয়াছি খেলা
কোটি-প্রেমিকের মাঝে
বিরহ-বিধুর নয়ন-সলিলে
মিলন মধুর লাজে।
পুরাতন প্রেম নিত্য নূতন সাজে!

garden of its (Spring's) holidays,' the fragrant valleys, the tender hills which the frost has now brushed with its wings. Just as the central theme of 'Phalguni' is, in the author's own words, stripping Winter of its mantle of white, so also does the Belgian poet sing the song of eternal summer and impugn the frosty people who 'have the terror of Winter in their marrow.' In short, there can be little doubt that Rabindranath owes a debt of gratitude to Maeterlinck for the principal idea of his play.

The brief spell of extraneous influences over, we find the poet turning a more convinced optimist and sounding deeper and sincerer notes. This was indeed the flowering period of his poetry when he conceived a profound liking for his motherland and essayed to give expression to his patriotic views without demur or dismay. He began to enquire into the condition of his own people and was painfully awakened to the fact that much of their misery was incident to the absolute lack of nutrition, physical as well as mental. He shared in sympathy their utter helplessness and sought to deliver to their deafened ears the message of energism and hope. He completely outgrew his former mood and became, as it were, a different man altogether. His clarion voice made itself heard even in the remotest parts of Bengal and the sincerity and charm of his verse seldom ever failed to impress. I must quote here a few lines from his inimitable poem "এবার ফিরাও মোরে" lines that are instinct with electric potency, in justification of my statement above :—

* * * এই সব মূঢ় ম্লান মূক মুখে
দিতে হবে ভাষা ; এই সব শ্রান্ত শুষ্ক ভগ্নবুকে
ধ্বনিয়া তুলিতে হবে আশা, ডাকিয়া বলিতে হ'বে—
"মুহূর্ত্ত তুলিয়া শির একত্র দাঁড়াও দেখি সবে ;
যার ভয়ে তুমি ভীত সে অন্যায় ভীরু তোমা চেয়ে,
যখনি জাগিবে তুমি তখনি সে পলাইবে ধেয়ে।"

* * * *

বড় দুঃখ, বড় ব্যথা সম্মুখেতে কষ্টের সংসার
বড়ই দরিদ্র, শূন্য, বড় ক্ষুদ্র বদ্ধ অন্ধকার।

অন্ন চাই, প্রাণ চাই, আলো চাই, চাই মুক্ত বায়,
চাই বল, চাই স্বাস্থ্য, আনন্দ-উজ্জ্বল পরমায়ু,
সাহস-বিস্তৃত বক্ষপট। এ দৈন্য মাঝারে, কবি,
একবার নিয়ে এস স্বর্গ হ'তে বিশ্বাসের ছবি!

For all practical purposes, we can classify Rabindranath's poetry into three clearly-marked stages. In the first stage, he is like Shelley or Swinburne without substance of any kind and the value of his poetry of this period consists mainly in the elfin magic of its metre and the variety of its technique, coupled with the occasional suggestion of some beautiful, haunting thought such as we meet with in Tennyson, Rossetti or Browning. The second stage is characterised by the production of work that partakes less of the nature of the air-stuff and his poetry at this stage is more tangible and prophetic in its vein, though perhaps less fanciful in its character, than his poetry of the earlier period. The feverish frenzy of the juvenile mind reflected only the nebulous visions of a love-intoxicated dreamer and sounded but the full-throated melody of some sweet-voiced bird that has just learnt to soar. But at the second stage the poet gained considerably in experience as also in years, had more of the sweets and bitters of life and grew more original and less imitative than before. This fact alone accounts for the broader outlook on life and the thorougher grasp and more tangible treatment that are revealed in this poetry of this period. Then comes the third or the final stage when he transcends the limitations of the two earlier stages and strives to extend the offerings of his art to the most supreme of all artists—the Author of this universe. The perspective widens considerably and he views the world of things in a light never done before. All sense of distinction between animate and inanimate, great and small, vanishes at once and he feels within himself[1] the silent approach of something

[1] "Have you not heard his silent steps?
He comes, comes, ever comes.
In sorrow after sorrow it is his steps
That press upon my heart, and it is the
golden touch of his feet that makes my joy to shine.

inscrutable and indefinable which wafts him aloft to heights never perhaps reached by any save the Vaishnava poets.

I feel it incumbent on me, before concluding this essay, to cite a few lines from his immortal 'Gitanjali' which the spiritually inclined will, I believe, fain enjoy and cherish as they will the psalms from the Vedas which embody the revelation of the absolute truth,—truth which is co-extensive with God Himself. During this period he seems to be mainly possessed by the wonderful teachings of the Upanishads and other indigenous influences; but these will form the subject of a separate discourse. Here is a poem from 'Gitanjali'—

"He came and sat by my side but I woke not.
What a cursed sleep it was, O miserable me.
He came when the night was still; he had his harp on his
hands, and my dreams became resonant with its melodies.
Alas, why are my nights all thus lost? Ah! why do I ever miss
his sight whose breath touches my sleep ?"

(Even in this poem, essentially oriental in colouring, a careful reader scarcely fails to notice the remarkable resemblance which it bears to the 'Parable of the Ten Virgins' in the New Testament. The story is fundamentally the same, it is only the treatment that imparts to it an indigenous flavour.)

I need hardly tell my readers that the object of the present thesis is not to minimise the worth of Rabindranath as a poet; he is at this date far too great a name to be in any way tarnished by aspersions hurled on him. That he is an artist of the first order, a class by himself, nay, more, a seer worthy of being reckoned among the world's very greatest, is what I devoutly believe. Mine, therefore, is nothing more than a scholastic endeavour to determine the extent of his obligations.

BINAYAK SANYAL

Reviews

The Development of Religious Toleration in England from the Beginning of the English Reformation to the Death of Queen Elizabeth by W. K. Jordan, Ph. D. (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 21*s*. net, 1932) is a really valuable book. The treatment of this important subject, as attempted here, is exhaustive and thorough. The book is divided into six main chapters each having five to six subdivisions of which the headings clearly indicate the scope of the contents. The introductory chapter traces the problem of Religious Toleration prior to the Elizabethan settlement of religion and in the next two chapters, covering 157 pages, we have a careful study of the dominant groups during the reign of Elizabeth and the development of Governmental and Anglican thought with respect to religious dissent up to the year 1603.

The writer has sedulously collected together early evidences of tolerant thought between 1530 and 1558 and considered the functions of the Magistrate in the Church, the Roman Catholic problem as it stood in 1569 to 1576, the attitude of the Government to Roman Catholic nonconformity from 1576 to 1583 and the final phase of the Roman Catholic problem in 1583 to 1603. The Anglican position on the general question of dissent is carefully presented reference being made to the views of the theorists like Carleton and Sandys and to the well-known Whitgift-Cartwright controversy and a section is devoted to the classical statement of the Anglican position on the basis of the writings of Gifford and Hooker. The relation of militant Puritanism to the problem of toleration and the modification of the Governmental attitude towards toleration effected by dissent between 1583 and 1590 are also carefully considered.

The author next directs his attention to the minority groups during the reign of Elizabeth in Chapter IV (pp. 239-299) which is conveniently divided into two sections dealing respectively with Puritan thought and Separatist thought and their relation to the development of religious toleration. Under Separatist thought he studies the thoughts of Robert Browne, Robert Harrison and Henry Barrowe as well as the status of Congregational thought in the last decade of the century and the relation of Baptist thought to the main problem. The 5th Chapter deals with importance of lay thought and its contribution as the 6th Chapter does the same in regard to Roman Catholic thought and the attitude of the Roman

Catholic Church towards heresy, the Jesuit position and the thought of the non-political Catholic groups.

There are an extensive bibliography (pp. 421-477) and a valuable index.

Copious references to authorative works, from which appropriate quotations have been intelligently embodied into the text, have been given in the foot-notes and relevant opinions of all standard writers have, when necessary, been carefully and dispassionately reviewed. The historical back ground has thus been worked out with great diligence-

We have in this vulume a thorough discussion of the problem of toleration in its *three* principal aspects—(1) legal, (2) philosophical and (3) religious.

The writer has with great care attempted to elucidate the concept, meaning and significance of religious toleration in particular which is the main theme of his book. This complex problem involves the questions of heresy and of persecution and these have received adequate attention. In this connection an elaborate study of the claims of private judgment and of liberty of conscience is needful and these two topics have been carefully considered. He has done well in tracing the effect of the operation of separatist thought, specially that of the Brownists and the Baptists, and of lay thought on the gradual development of religious toleration in England. In his survey of the attitude of lay thought our author embodies the opinions of a large nnmber of foreign writers and he does not omit a reference to the influence of Continental thought, as, for example, of the Italian Academicians. The contributions made by Sebastien Castellion, Jacobus Acontius, Zwingli, Pulci and the early Arminians who simplified dogma by their attacks on the theory of exclusive salvation are elaborately set forth and correctly valued. The writer evinces a vast amount of patient and intelligent industry in subjecting to a close analysis the writings of various authors.

Similarly the vexed question of heresy is thoroughly discussed with reference to the views of such authorities as Chrysostom, Cyprian, Jerome, Aquinas, St. Augustine, More as well as writers like Barrowe, Cartwight, Whitgift, Harrison, Fenton and Sandys.

The achievements of the humanistic tolerance effected by the Renaissance and the effect produced by the Protestant Reformation (which, by the way, occasionally counteracted the good results of the Renaissance humanism) in systematically weakening the authority of the orthodox church are admirably presented.

He carefully defines the limits of his theme as will be evident from a single quotation—" We shall, however, be little concerned with the

problem of religious liberty ; religious toleration had to be achieved before it became even an academic question. Toleration, in the historical and legal sense of the term, represents the withdrawal of external authority from the control over certain ranges of human activity, and is essentially negative. Toleration represents, on the part of the State, a definition of those areas of human conduct over which it professes control. The State reserves the definition of those areas to itself and undertakes the difficult task of fixing the boundary between the free actions of the individual and his religious group and the forbidden sphere of activities, and even opinions, which the state has not relinquished from its control."

Legal toleration implies essentially a negative mental attitude—a mere refraining from persecution. Here, however, the absolute authority of the civil power even over matters spiritual is not questioned. The Government simply gives certain persons under certain conditions an option to differ from it in theory and in religious practice. " Liberty of conscience, on the other hand," as our author holds, " springs from the theory that the final object of the State is man, that man is responsible for his own actions, and that the State assumes no responsibility for his thoughts or beliefs." But the mediaeval idea of the State, we have to bear in mind, presupposed the spiritual responsibility of the State for the salvation of the souls of its citizens and had therefore to impose on the Government the duty of supporting the ecclesiastical authorities in what was then considered as their laudable endeavour to eliminate heresy. Legal toleration, when recognised, at best allows an opposite point of view to exist but that does not imply approval. But a philosophical frame of mind must recognise the right of contrary religious beliefs to have as much chance of prevailing. Even when this much is achieved, toleration as such is bound to fall short of real religious liberty.

It is, indeed, a melancholy reflection to have to believe with the author that religious tolerations in the West owes less to a better understanding of the spiritual nature of Christ's teachings than to the modern man's conviction that religious truths can hardly be ascertained definitely or to his general indifference to Christian Theology and religious practice. Though admitting that intellectual scepticism and religious indifference have to a large extent weakened the theory and practice of religious persecution, the author is inclined to hold that " the finest conception of religious toleration presumes a positive attitude of mind which enables us charitably and sympathetically to hear another man whom we consider to be in error."

Finally, in enumerating the principal forces that have actually operated towards the gradual development of religious toleration, we have to make mention of such as these:—(1) The dangers to the State of pursuing rigidly a policy of persecution, for religious minorities could never be completely wiped out without jeopardy to the very foundations of national life. (2) The separation of the State from the Church resulting in sixteenth century secularization of national politics. (3) The growing political power and solidarity of minority groups capable of counteracting the pretence of omnipotence of the Government even without always resorting to the extreme measure of a civil war (4) The ever increasing *number* of dissenting sects or groups which weakens and ultimately tends to destroy the theory of uniformity in matters religious and also gains gradually an influence in the Government itself in which in course of time their different point of view is sure to find its reflection and expression. (5) The spirit of compromise which in all countries and communities slowly gains ascendancy as men realise that the existence of minority groups in the State does not necessarily involve threats to the economic, social and political peace and order. (6) the inevitable replacing of severe persecution by cautious and moderate repression due to the growth of liberal ideas, expansion of education, facilities of cheap and extensive travels bringing into closer touch communities and individual men and women hitherto living more or less isolated and apart and therefore exposed to mutual misunderstanding, and. (7) the influence of the printing press on the world of ideas and their cheap, quick and effective communication to a larger majority of men and women and the impetus lent to written controversies. The ground was prepared, however, by the Renaissance thinkers who gradually developed a spirit of rational thinking destined to undermine the claims of authoritative revelation and the orthodox traditions of scholastic theology. Moreover, the sense of an imperative need for salvation became subordinated to a living concern felt by men and women for this world and for the present life and its manifold affairs and interests. The church began to cease to be the custodian of man's spiritual welfare and even religion became an affair of each individual. The humanist's formula of private judgment began to enlist on its side a large number of able advocates. The Reformation had to build its structure on this foundation of humanistic thought. As the author observes, "it led men to judge what is true and good by the test of reason rather than the tenets of tradition. We may regard the Reformation as representing the unconscious triumph both of the scientific spirit and of human liberty."

This human liberty included liberty of dissent. Then again, the rapid growth of national States had the tendency to accentuate national religious differences which in their turn accelerated the pace of toleration till the time came for the demand of what may be called international tolerance.

We recommend the book specially for the method of discussion adopted in it by which the writer makes such a complex problem easy to grasp in all its bearings. The arrangement of the vast amount of detailed information is good and the net result is a lucid discussion which enhances the value of a book so useful to churchmen, political thinkers, social philosophers, laymen and students of history.

J. G. B.

Indian Currency and Exchange.—By S. B. Sengupta, M.A., B.L., Principal, Khalsa College, Lyallpur, published by R. S. Saura, Lahore, price Rs. 3, pp. 312.

This fairly difficult subject is not properly understood by many of the Indian public. Although a great volume of literature has been published in this field yet many of the important issues are not thoroughly grasped. The author has dealt with this subject in a lucid and clear manner so that the subject-matter is grasped fairly easily by the beginners. Levying much emphasis on the historical development of the subject the author has outlined the chronological evolution of Indian currency from 1835 to the year 1932. The crucial events of the years 1892, 1898, 1913, 1919 and 1925 led to the appointment of Committees for studying the nature of the changes and outlining the future course of the currency authority.

The effect of such changes as have been adopted has not been forgotten. Valuable material found scattered in the different authoritative reports of these bodies provide the grist to the mill. The author must be congratulated on bringing about a fairly lucid manual dealing with the evolutionary aspect of our currency system.

Elementary currency theory is usually stated here and there in order to elucidate the trend of his remarks. The recent purchasing power-parity doctrine as stated by Prof. Cassel is also lucidly explained.

Writing in 1932 the author ought to have used *Sterling* or gold after 1*s.* 6*d.* (see p. 4); as the paper sterling currency is managed, currency and sterling is bound to be of the gold standard for some time to come until international economic co-operation succeeds in making gold the international monetary standard once again. The ensuing World Economic Conference to be held in forthcoming winter would of course decide the fate of the managed paper currencies.

The author has quoted very often such standard authorities as Prof. Keynes, Prof. G. F. Shirras, Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas and Sir J. C. Coyajee and made the narrative authoritative and easy enough for the beginners.

The displacing of the number of pages from p. 80 to p. 87 is a serious mistake of the publisher greatly marring the utility of the book.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Disarmament:—Preparation for the General Conference (February, 1932). Issued by the League of Nations Secretariat, Geneva, pp. 127, price 1*s*. $0·25.

The pamphlet gives the general reader a plain and unvarnished description of the disarmament problem confronting the sixty-four nations of the world. No task which the League of Nations has undertaken is so important as the one of Disarmament and there is no gainsaying of the fact that it has been straining its best nerves and endeavouring its level best to secure a satisfactory situation by reducing the national expenditure on armaments, land, naval or air. Realising full well that the empty declaration that " aggressive war would be considered an international crime." would be ineffective and that " Regional guarantees and Regional defensive treaties " would be of little avail, efforts are now being concentrated in more than one direction, *e.g.*, the adjustment of political thought, increased machinery for peaceful settlement of international disputes, the establishment of international confidence and improved international relations. It is indeed true that these act and react on each other and the disarmament problem itself is a necessary prelude towards the attainment of the above desirable features in the realm of international relations.

With the disapproval of the Geneva Protocol, the Locarno Agreements were entered into in December, 1925.

These paved the way for the Preparatory Commission which carefully prepared the agenda for the General Disarmament Conference. The six sessions of the Preparatory Commission discussed almost threadbare every problem of major importance concerning Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. Considerations of space preclude us from referring to the prolonged debates on the much talked-of but least understood subject of security.

Notable spade-work was done by the Arbitration and Security Committee of 1927. Equally creditable work was done by the adoption of the Paris-Pact for the Renunciation of War. Finally a Draft Convention consisting of 60 articles was prepared by the Preparatory Commission and placed before the General Conference of February, 1932. The different clauses along with the reservations of the different Powers are stated in detail from p. 22 to p. 61. The various reservations make it plain that divergencies of principle exist among the different Powers but the Draft Convention outlines a "well-defined and well-considered framework." The achieved task is far from complete. No plan for reduction and limitation of *material* armaments will succeed unless it is accompanied by "moral disarmament." International security becomes a mere willo'-the-wisp in days of international disquiet and flagrant insecurity. Propaganda for waging war must be signally dealt with. World public opinion must aim at the securing of a general *detente*.

The realisation of the ideal of complete disarmament is far from ever. The institution of the international organ of disarmament is urgently needed and it alone can accelerate the national march towards complete disarmament ideal. The dissemination of information and educational propaganda by this body would perhaps meet with better success. But the Draft Convention is an important milestone in the continuing process of disarmament.

There is also a close connection and interdependence between disarmament and security. The realisation of national security prompts the nations to undergo severe financial strain even at the expense and neglect of local duties. But for this economic and budgetary limitation the phantom ideal of national security would have beggared many a nation as a result of their excessive and unwarranted overspending. It is not the limitation nor the stabilisation of armaments at a lower figure than the present that are needed. As President Henderson rightly remarks "it is by entire renouncement of armaments and the forsaking of the War Spirit alone" that the ideal of collective disarmament " can be realised.

The annexures to the different chapters give the complete text of the Draft Convention, the "conclusions" of the Report of the Budgetary Experts, the summary of the Washington and London Naval Treaties and a short bibliography of Official Documents on disarmaments.

It is an indispensable *vade mecum* for understanding the subject and we are much indebted to the League of Nations for this valuable monograph. We only wish that its endeavours would be crowned with success

as early as possible for nothing is so important for world economic recovery than the complete renunciation of armaments. Neither the scrapping of reparations nor the reduction of war-debts and tariffs would meet with such signal success as would follow the abolition of armaments.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU